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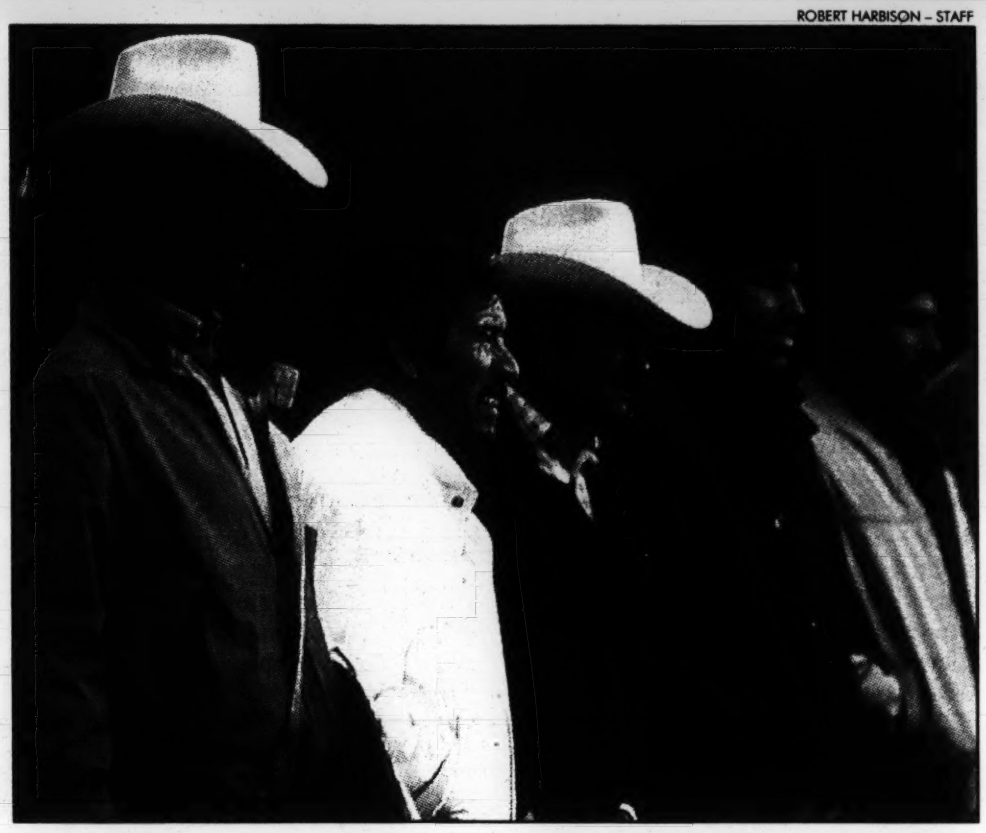
ROBERT HARBISON – STAFF



TWO CULTURES: *Mexican-Americans from Yakima Valley, Wash., watch a soccer tournament celebrating the establishment of a Mexican consulate in Yakima last year.*

SPECIAL REPORT

EARLY in the 21st century, if projections hold true, Hispanics will become the largest minority group in the United States, surpassing blacks. On a tide of immigration, the Hispanic population in the US rose 53 percent during the 1980s, in contrast to growth rates of 6 percent for whites and 13 percent for non-Hispanic blacks.

Like other immigrant groups, Hispanics are tugged in two directions by a desire to participate fully in the American experience and, at the same time, a wish to preserve their language and cultures.

Even as they experience these buffeting forces, however, Hispanics are moving inexorably into the American mainstream, as both their economic prowess and political clout increase.

Despite obvious similarities in their experiences in the US, Hispanics are actually a community of communities, reflecting their many nations of origin. Mexican-Americans are concentrated in the Southwest, Cuban-Americans in Florida, and Puerto Ricans and Dominicans in the Northeast.

HISPANIC AMERICANS: INTO THE MAINSTREAM

In a special four-page report today starting on Page 9, Monitor reporters take a look at these communities. It is part of a series of special reports on America's largest minority groups. A report on black Americans appeared March 8. A look at Asian-Americans will appear this summer.

Conservative Revolt Crosses Party Lines Over Clinton Budget

The president wins compromise from House Democrats, but he faces tough bipartisan opposition in the Senate

By Linda Feldmann

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

PRESIDENT Clinton may have saved his economic package in the House, but trouble is brewing in the Senate.

Republicans and conservative Democrats on the Senate Finance Committee have teamed up to draft an alternative plan promising greater spending cuts and reduced tax hikes. Mr. Clinton will have to work out a compromise with committee members to salvage his plan.

At a news conference yesterday, Sens. David Boren (D) of Oklahoma and John Danforth (R) of Missouri proposed caps on entitlements and elimination of Clinton's proposed energy tax, two key elements of the Clinton plan that conservative Democrats object to. The Boren-Danforth plan proposes $150 billion in new taxes compared with more than $240 billion in the Clinton plan; Boren-Danforth propose $337 billion in spending cuts while Clinton proposes $174 billion.

Mr. Boren's counterproposal means that Clinton's plan cannot pass the Senate Finance Committee, where Democrats hold only an 11-to-9 margin.

Clinton's session Wednesday with House Democrats seemed to bolster party support for his plan to hike taxes and cut spending. He said he'd go "out on a limb" with supporters, say those at the meeting.

The leaders of the conservative House Democratic revolt, Reps. Charles Stenholm of Texas and David McCurdy of Oklahoma, insist they have enough votes to kill Clinton's plan. But some members of their faction indicate that the president's plan will likely pass the House when it reaches the floor May 27.

"When you get right down to it, we're probably not going to let [it] die," says

See **CLINTON** *page 4*

Cambodian Campaign Closes Amid Concerns of Violence

By Kathy Chenault

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

PHNOM PENH, CAMBODIA

CAMBODIANS have ended formal campaigning for next week's national elections, leaving voters enthusiastic over the opportunity to cast ballots for the first time in 21 years.

But people here are also worried about election-related violence and doubtful that a new government can bring lasting peace to this troubled nation.

The elections mark the United Nations' most ambitious peacemaking effort, and have been seen as a test of its effectiveness at resolving conflicts worldwide. If the peace effort succeeds, it will end the region's longest-running civil war, which has been a thorn in the side of regional stability. But the radical Khmer Rouge guerillas have vowed to sabotage the UN effort.

The six-week campaign period leading up to UN-monitored elections May 23-28 offered a variety of contrasts, perhaps fitting for a nation seeking a new beginning but still unable to consign its tragic past to history because of continued threats by the Khmer Rouge.

The Maoist organization, which presided over the deaths of at least 1 million people in the late 1970s, pulled out of the UN-brokered peace plan intended to end 13 years of civil war in Cambodia and

See **CAMBODIA** *page 4*

Next Week in the Monitor

- In China, as communism decays and capitalism grows, Confucian ideals are revived. **Monday.**
- Philip Glass's new opera 'Orphée' reimagines the Greek myth, with a nod to Cocteau's film. **Tuesday.**
- Poland emerges from the recession that has gripped Eastern Europe: a special report. **Wednesday.**

Clinton Ousts White House Travel Office

THE White House abruptly fired its entire travel office of seven people Wednesday, saying a lot of money cannot be properly accounted for. The employees had 10 years to 31 years of service and had to leave on the same day. They were accused of shoddy accounting practices and possible overbilling.

White House spokeswoman Dee Dee Myers said the FBI probably would be asked to investigate. She said there were signs of "a serious overbilling of the press," a charge later disputed by a senior White House official.

The travel office books flights and accommodations for White House employees traveling commercially. It also charters jets for the press corps that accompanies the president on every trip. Over a 17-month period examined by auditors, the office handled about $11 million in press travel payments.

A distant cousin to President Clinton, 25-year-old Catherine Cornelius, was named to help oversee the travel operations. And a Little Rock, Ark., travel agency with which she was associated was picked without competitive bidding to handle arrangements.

Mr. Clinton deflected questions about the firings, saying merely he was told that an investigation had turned up "serious problems" and that "there was no alternative."

Billy Dale, who was fired as head of the office, said he had been told they were being let go because they were reorganizing. His staff learned of the mismanagement charges only through news accounts.

The accounting firm of Peat Marwick, which reviewed the travel offices' books from January 1992 to May 1993, said that "the records are unauditable in their present form."

Lobbyists on the line

President Clinton has labeled lobbyists "defenders of decline" and "guardians of gridlock," and the public seems to agree. In keeping with this view of lobbyists, the House next week is scheduled to vote on a massive deficit-reduction package that gains part of its revenue by killing the tax deduction businesses and trade groups now can claim for their lobbying expenses. The provision is estimated to raise $873 million over the next five years. Because lobbyists are a popular target these days, the provision seems likely to sail through the House and Senate and into the law books. Even lobbyists are reluctant to rise to their own defense.

– Compiled by David Mutch

NATIONAL

As the president struggles with Congress, analysts suggest that he could improve the prospects for all his programs – and that his critics should better understand compromise

Clinton's Task: to Move Ahead

By John Dillin
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

PRESIDENT Clinton's relations with Congress have reached an important crossroad.

Like a frontier scout, Mr. Clinton is urging the lawmakers to plunge into uncharted territory. He wants Congress to rapidly approve the largest tax increase in history, sweeping health-care reform, and gay rights in the military.

On top of that, the president supports federal funding of abortions, campaign finance reform, free trade with Mexico, and a scaling back of cherished entitlement programs.

The trail looks politically dangerous. Many congressmen have balked, prompting reports of "panic" in the White House. There are predictions that the president will lose big chunks of his tax increase in the Senate, and that the abortion controversy could threaten his health-reform program.

What's to be done? A number of analysts, while praising Clinton's boldness, say it's time for the president to mount the "bully pulpit," and use all his skills to rally support. So far, he is falling far short, they say.

Without a clear, steady voice resonating from the White House, Clinton's public approval ratings are declining, analysts note. TV, radio, and newspapers are filled with negative stories. Political support has eroded, even among Democrats, on Capitol Hill.

Yet the battle is young. With the right steps, a number of experts say the president could sharply improve prospects for all his programs during the next few months. Among the actions he could take to bolster his prospects on Capitol Hill:

■ Better communication. Political scientist James David Barber at Duke University says that like Ross Perot, the president must explain his programs again and again to the public in the clearest possible terms. Voters then can bring pressure on Congress.

■ Clearer convictions. Stephen Salmore, an analyst at Rutgers University, says Clinton needs to decide which issues are "nonnegotiable" – ideals which he "would go to the mat for." Americans respect such conviction and strength. Sharing those principles with the voters could strengthen his hand.

■ Shrewd priorities. To build momentum, Dr. Salmore suggests Clinton might pick some easier issues, win on those, then move on to the tougher ones.

■ Higher vision. Ellen Miller, executive director of the Center for Responsive Politics, says even when the president knows he cannot win on a difficult issue, he should praise what he thinks would be the highest possible standards. Though he might lose today, he could win tomorrow.

As public criticism mounts and Congress grows skittish, Stephen Hess, who served in the Eisenhower White House, suggests some of those who complain may not fully understand how Washington works.

For example, Clinton proposed tough new energy taxes on businesses, such as the aluminum industry. In the House Ways and Means Committee, the president agreed to weaken some of those taxes. Critics charged him with caving in. But Mr. Hess disagrees. Give-and-take is a way of life in Washington, he says.

ANALYSIS

"The notion that since Clinton is a Democrat and Congress has a Democratic majority, they would walk in lockstep to a glorious future" just isn't true, Hess says.

He continues: "The process ... is based on compromise. A president presents his program. The legislature and the opposition present theirs. Ultimately, if the president succeeds, the end product is more like what he proposed than what anyone else proposed.

"I find it powerfully strange that compromise is being used as a dirty word by people who should know better, and that the president is being faulted for compromise."

Many more compromises lie ahead. It is improbable that Clinton will win all he wants on health care, the budget, taxes, trade with Mexico, or gay rights.

The true measure of Clinton will be whether he gets the greater part of his proposals.

Dr. Barber says that with better use of his skills as a communicator, Clinton's chances of winning over Congress will improve significantly. The critical factor here is: "He must explain to the American people what is actually happening."

Barber, whose research shows many Americans don't understand basic concepts such as the "federal budget deficit," urges the president get down to the fundamentals, much like Mr. Perot does with his television infomercials.

In the clearest of terms, Clinton must lay out the nation's problems, as well as his administration's proposed solutions, to voters, he says.

Hess, who is an analyst at the Brookings Institution, agrees.

"Clinton has to bring the public along with him," he says. "In the first 100 days, he spent most of his time, quite rightly, developing a program. It is now pretty completely developed, except for health care, to come shortly."

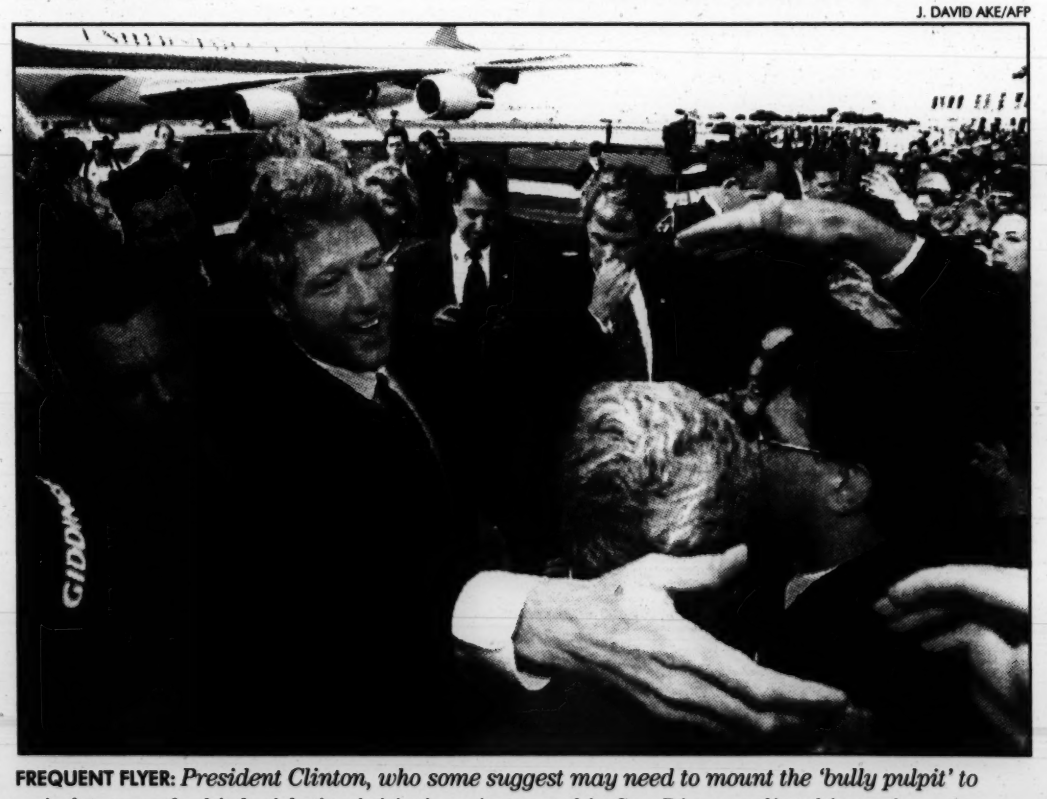
Now the president must become a salesman who lays out his vision, Hess says.

Yet some experts are concerned about the next few months. Salmore, who concedes he looks at Clinton from his own Republican perspective, says that a month ago, "I thought Clinton was in trouble. Now I think he is in deep trouble."

Salmore says the issue which worries him most is Bosnia. The president had two basic choices there – to stay away, or go in.

"He managed to create a third and worse choice," Salmore says. "The situation required him to come down on one side, then convince the country and the Western alliance to go along. Instead, he came down on no side, and convinced the Serbs they can get away with anything they want."

J. DAVID AKE/AFP



FREQUENT FLYER: *President Clinton, who some suggest may need to mount the 'bully pulpit' to gain leverage for his legislative initiatives, is greeted in San Diego earlier this week.*

California Tries to Meet Budget

To avoid another year of deficit spending, state faces tough decisions on cuts

By Daniel B. Wood
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

SACRAMENTO, CALIF.

CALIFORNIA'S budget battle of 1993 has begun in earnest.

On the heels of $14.5 billion and $11-plus billion budget shortfalls in 1991 and last year, the state's lawmakers are looking to whittle another $8 to $10 billion more out of existing programs this year, based on revised figures released yesterday. The spending limit to be reached by the June 15 constitutional deadline is $51.2 billion.

"There are not a lot of options left," says Dan Schnur, press secretary to Gov. Pete Wilson. "The state has already cut well into the bone."

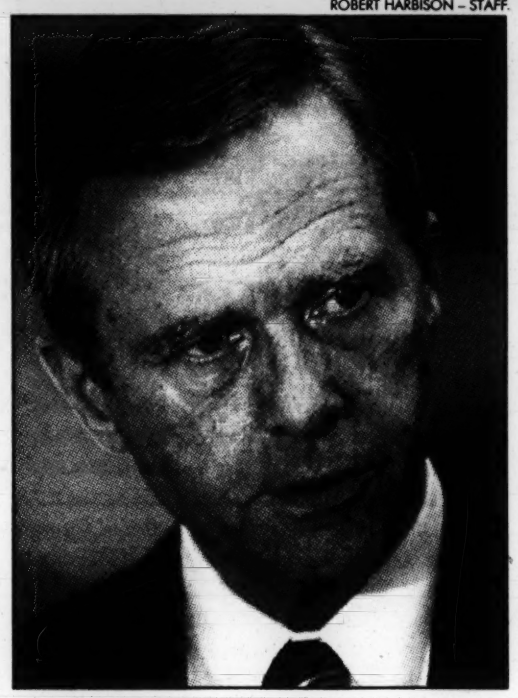
Democratic-led legislative plans have proposed major cuts to universities, criminal justice, Medi-Cal, and local governments. Earlier plans submitted by the Republican governor to reduce welfare grants to families, cut community colleges, and discontinue renters' credits were bolstered with further proposed cuts to health and welfare announced yesterday. Mr. Wilson also wants to extend a repayment schedule for $3 billion in debt left over from last year's deficit.

Recalling last year's well-publicized fiasco in which state employees were paid with IOUs when lawmakers failed to meet the budget's constitutional deadline by 64 days, Mr. Schnur said there is no reason to repeat the scenario.

"The fight to make these cuts will definitely be tough, but nobody wants a repeat of last year. The legislature will just have to realize, as it did not last year, that the governor is not going to raise taxes or deficit spend."

Democratic Assemblyman John Vasconcellos, who chairs the Assembly Ways and Means Committee, predicts the legislature will meet its deadline. But he does not relish the coming fight. "The state has cut about all the fat there is to be found, we're into muscle and bone," he says. "The threats of prisoners being released, criminal cases not being prosecuted, and people dying in the streets for lack of health services are real."

ROBERT HARBISON – STAFF.



PETE WILSON: *California's governor wants to avoid a repeat of last year's fiasco, when state employees had to be paid with IOUs.*

Spokesmen for both Republicans and Democrats say Wilson and state treasurer Kathleen Brown have worked out a new agreement for short-term borrowing should another standoff last beyond July 1, when the state officially loses its authority to spend money. Short-term bonds, known as reimbursement warrants, would finance state borrowing, backed by the major bond houses that deal with the state. The state Constitution provides no penalty for missing the deadline, and lawmakers have met it only four times in the last 15 years.

Subcommittees in both chambers have spent months wrestling with ways to trim the budget. One point of contention has been Democratic pushes to extend a half-cent sales tax that would raise $1.4 billion in revenue. Wilson, who is concerned that the state's already burdensome tax structure is forcing business exodus, has been vehemently against the extension.

Wilson wants to transfer $2.6 billion of property tax revenue that usually goes to local governments to support public schools. But the plan has been hotly contested by Democrats. Cities and counties have complained such cuts would require them to cut up to 50 percent of their budgets and could force elimination of public services from libraries to parks.

January estimates of $8 billion in red ink were added to this week with new figures released by the State Department of Finance.

Declining state property values would push incoming state revenue $600 million more into the red, the department said. Another $1.5 billion in federal reimbursements due for immigration-related social services will be $900 million shy this year, they say. And two bills expected but not yet passed by the legislature – concerning renter tax credits and welfare packages – will cost another $900 million.

"The California economy has just not been able to deal with all the people that have come into the state," says Republican Assemblyman Charles Quackenbush, noting an average 650,000 population growth per year throughout the 1980s.

Mr. Vasconcellos says a comprehensive package of 14 bills and four resolutions to deal with the state's long-term problems has been working through the legislature since fall, but will not be ready in time to fix the current shortfall. He has proposed a combination of further cuts, fee increases, reform of local government tax authority, and extension of the sales tax.

Whatever happens, the governor wants to hold the line against spending increases.

"California will not make the same mistake the federal government did in building up a crippling deficit," Schnur says. "For all the problems we've had ... when we come out of recession, we will be in a position to spend where we need."

NAFTA Will Be Approved, Says Lee Hamilton

WASHINGTON

REP. Lee Hamilton (D) of Indiana says selling the North American Free Trade Agreement to Congress and the voters is going to be "tough." But in the end, he predicts, "we will approve it."

Representative Hamilton, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, told a breakfast meeting of reporters Thursday that there is little enthusiasm for NAFTA among his constituents.

"You stand with me at an Indiana plant gate, and 1 of 4 say, 'Don't vote for NAFTA,' " he says. "NAFTA has become a symbol for the working person of the export of jobs abroad."

Even so, Hamilton says President Clinton's support for the pact, which was negotiated by former President Bush, has grown steadily stronger.

The congressman says that while 500,000 low-skill jobs may be lost in the United States because of the agreement, the net impact for the country will be a plus because other jobs will be gained. But Hamilton concedes that substantial numbers of Democrats oppose the deal.

Turning to Bosnia, Hamilton says diplomatic momentum is swinging in favor of the Russian-European strategy. They would gradually apply the Vance-Owen peace plan to divide the former Yugoslavia into ethnic enclaves.

Asked whether President Clinton has waffled on Bosnia, Hamilton said: "Who hasn't? All of us have waffled on it."

While there is sentiment in Washington for rolling back "Serbian aggression," Hamilton says that would require 400,000 to 500,000 troops. None of the Western allies, including the United States, is willing to commit that level of resources in the foreseeable future, he said.

– John Dillin

Recognition of Angola Signals Shift in US Policy on Africa

By Peter Grier
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

BY formally recognizing the former Marxist government of Angola, President Clinton is trying to send Africa the message that his administration is serious about promoting democracy on a continent long burdened with too many tyrants.

He is also undoing a last bit of cold-war business. President Reagan had hailed Angolan rebel leader Jonas Savimbi as a freedom fighter against Soviet influence. By throwing in with Mr. Savimbi's rival, government leader Jose Eduardo dos Santos, Mr. Clinton is belatedly saying that superpower posturing in Angola is over.

Savimbi, in Washington's view, has become nothing but another frustrated strongman trying to shoot his way into power. Savimbi and his National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) have rejected the results of last fall's election, in which Mr. dos Santos and his Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) won a 49 percent plurality.

Savimbi has continued to forsake a United States and United Nations peace proposal. His renewed military offensives have claimed 20,000 more lives in a nation ravaged by war for almost two decades.

"The Angolan government, by contrast, has agreed to sign that peace agreement, has sworn in a democratically elected National Assembly and has offered participation by UNITA at all levels of government," said Clinton when announcing his policy change on Wednesday.

Recognition of Angola marks the final chapter in the so-called "Reagan doctrine," under which the US gave clandestine support to three insurgencies fighting Soviet-backed governments around the world: the Nicaraguan contras, the Afghan *mujahideen*, and UNITA. US supplied weapons helped UNITA fight the government of Dos Santos to a standstill in the late 1980s.

Negotiations resulted in last fall's election, in which Savimbi was defeated and which Western observers judged free and fair.

The results of the poll made US recognition of Dos Santos inevitable, as Clinton officials say promotion of democracy will be one of the guiding principles of their foreign policies. National security adviser Anthony Lake said in March that the administration was even seeking ways of reorienting its foreign aid for Africa to reward nations making the most democratic progress.

Whether recognition will have any effect on the renewed fighting is unclear. Savimbi's offensive caught the government by surprise and he now controls much of the country.

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Rep. Charles Wilson, a conservative Democrat from Texas.

The House's 176 Republicans, who will vote en bloc against the plan, would need 42 Democrats to vote with them to defeat it. House Democratic leaders expressed confidence after Wednesday's caucus session that enough party members would go along with the president.

"I think the president's program will be enacted largely intact," said Senate majority leader George Mitchell (D) of Maine.

But no sooner had Mr. Mitchell uttered those confident words, when party unity sprung another leak – within Mitchell's own Senate ranks.

Energy tax in danger

The Boren-Danforth plan puts Clinton's energy tax in greater peril. Though House Speaker Tom Foley (D) of Washington said Wednesday, "We have no plans at this point to change the basic program before it's voted on next week," Mitchell called it "possible" the energy tax would be changed in the Senate.

If Clinton is prepared to deal on the energy tax, he is encouraged to do so sooner not later. House tax opponents, especially those from rural energy-producing states, have told him that they are afraid that if they approve the tax and he later cuts a deal to drop it in the Senate, they will be vulnerable with voters.

Clinton's dilemma is partly his own doing. Earlier this year, House Democrats from Western states supported an unpopular measure to hike fees for grazing and mining on federal land, only to watch the president give up the plan when Western senators objected.

In his meeting with House Democrats Wednesday, Clinton assured members that he would not leave them vulnerable at the polls – that a vote for higher taxes really would produce a smaller deficit. After the 1990 budget deal between President Bush and Congress, the last big tax hike, some members felt burned when the deficit did not decline as projected because of the recession.

Clinton appears less willing to give in on demands from conservative Democrats that he cap entitlements that Americans automatically receive if they qualify. The president agrees that the spiraling costs of the programs need to be controlled, but that caps would leave too many Americans vulnerable. Wait for health-care reform, he urged Democrats.

Entitlements at issue

Conservative Democrats are asking the House leadership to allow an amendment vote to cap entitlements, but it is inclined not to make the concession.

Mr. Wilson says Clinton is "walking a narrow line" between the need to accommodate conservatives and keep liberal members on board. Rep. Kweisi Mfume (D) of Maryland, chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, said Wednesday that the caucus would be "inclined" not to support the legislation if it contained entitlement caps.

Four months into his presidency, Clinton seems to have learned some lessons about dealing with Congress. When his economic-stimulus plan appeared in danger, he did not make a high-profile public effort to save it. The plan died in the face of a Republican filibuster.

This time, Clinton took his case directly to the public, with a swing to the West Coast this week to talk up his plan. He and Vice President Al Gore Jr. have conducted meetings with business leaders who support the program.

Clinton supporters are trying to play down the drama of the week's events, pointing out that this effort at deficit reduction lacks the sense of crisis surrounding the 1990 budget plan.

SERGE CORRIERAS/REUTERS

CAMPAIGN RALLY: *Leaders of the ruling Vietnamese-installed Cambodian People's Party court voters in Phnom Penh. At many rallies, the parties gave lavish gifts and spread rumors that the elections were monitored.*

CAMBODIA from page 1

has said it would disrupt the elections.

Attacks on opposition party workers and reports of continued intimidation of registered voters by government forces have differed sharply from the festive atmosphere of recent political rallies, where entertainment ranged from laser light shows to a rock band entertaining thousands gathered to cheer the Buddhist Liberal Democratic Party. At some rallies, campaign workers have handed out T-shirts, overstuffed sandwiches, and medicines – special treats in Cambodia that can go a long way toward ensuring party loyalty.

As the parties made final pitches to voters before the midnight deadline to cease political activities, government forces and UN personnel increased security in the capital. Armored personnel carriers and pickup trucks crammed with soldiers toting machine guns and rocket launchers patrolled the streets. UN officials ordered all military headquarters staff to carry weapons while on duty and set a 10 p.m. curfew for off-duty military observers.

Cambodians took their own precautions. Some families left the capital to stay with relatives in the countryside. Others stocked up on food so they would not have to leave home if violence erupts.

A Cambodian-American who heads one of the 30 parties vying for 120 seats in a new legislature said he sent his wife back to the United States.

"It's going to be violent. I'm sure it will be," says Kim Kethavy, who sold his two gas stations in California to finance his party's campaign. He plans to fly to the US after the balloting to join his family, but says he'll come back to Cambodia.

Others in Phnom Penh have expressed similar concerns about attacks, but added that living with violence has been a fact of life in Cambodia, and threats will not stop them from voting.

"The election is very important to the Cambodian people, because it is part of the solution to find peace for Cambodia," said Kim Dora, who sells jewelry in the Central Market. But he predicted only partial peace would be possible: "There can never be total peace in Cambodia because of the remaining Khmer Rouge."

In markets, on campuses, and at curbside cafes, talk often turns to the upcoming elections. Many Cambodians say they have followed the campaign over radio and television, but refuse to say who they will vote for because the ballot is supposed to be secret.

CONVINCING Cambodians that their votes are private has not been easy, given a history of intrusive Communist rule and rumors spread by campaign workers to intimidate voters into supporting the ruling Cambodian People's Party. The Vietnamese installed the CPP in 1979 when it invaded to oust the Khmer Rouge. Some people were told the pens they vote with would be monitored by computer. Others heard the government had a satellite for voting-day surveillance.

Sorting through the campaign rumors, promises, and positions of the parties has overwhelmed many voters.

In addition to the CPP, parties expected to have strong returns include the Buddhist Liberal Democratic Party led by former Prime Minister Son Sann and the United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia (FUNCINPEC) led by Prince Norodom Ranaridh, son of Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

The ruling CPP say it is the only party strong enough to counter a feared resurgence by the guerrilla group. FUNCINPEC has promoted national reconciliation under Sihanouk as a monarch. Son Sann's party would install a Buddhist government.

A professor of management at the Institute of Science and Economics in Phnom Penh said he is confident the UN forces will be able to prevent major disruptions by the Khmer Rouge so the legitimacy of the election results will not be called into question.

Hok Hour, who recently came to Phnom Penh to look for work from Kompong Cham province, which has large areas under Khmer Rouge control, says he has narrowed his choices to either the ruling party or FUNCINPEC, because he thinks they have a better chance at improving conditions.

But like others, he is not expecting rapid change. "Things cannot change soon enough for the older people. But maybe there will be better times and peace someday for my children."

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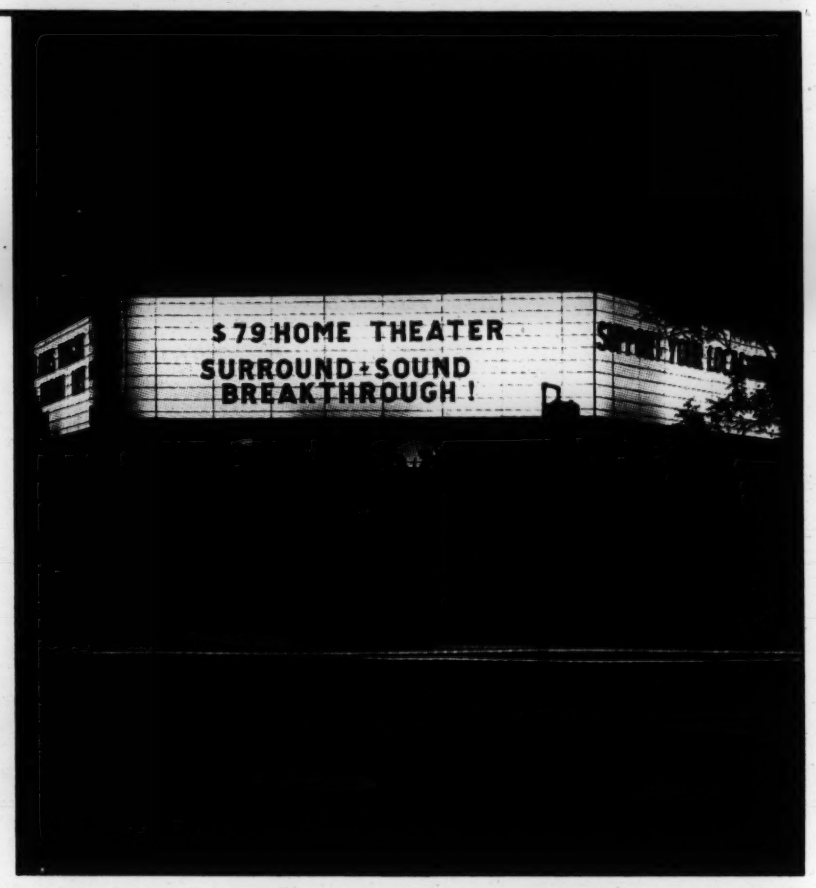

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Wins over critics. Noted audio critic, Len Feldman, reviewed the QD-1 for the September issue of *Audio Magazine*. He concluded that "...the QD-1 produced a completely accurate and realistic surround sound experience from a variety of videotapes and laser discs with Dolby surround encoding... the QD-1 delivers home theater sound the way it was meant to be heard."

Breakthrough 'L minus R.' Back in the 1960's, Dynaco discovered that in addition to the right and left channels, a "difference" signal existed in a stereo recording, and aptly named it "L minus R." The QD-1 is able to decode Dolby Surround signals in a videotape or a laser disc because those spatial and depth cues have been matrixed into the "L minus R" portion of the stereo soundtrack. It does so passively, with no signal processing. What's more amazing, the QD-1 uses your main stereo amp to amplify the rear channels. You do not need any additional amplifiers!

Concert hall sound. The QD-1 also decodes the ambience found in all musical recordings. This sense of space, or concert hall acoustics is present in all CDs and cassettes, especially live recordings. John Sunier of *Audiophile Edition*, a nationally syndicated radio program, says "If you're a surround sound buff who loves to listens to music, you'll find this $79 passive black box superior to even the $3000 THX or Dolby Pro-Logic processor."

Quick and easy installation. Hook up is easy. The QD-1 connects to the speaker outputs on your amp. The speaker leads then run to each of your four (or five) speakers. The rear channel speakers may be small; we recommend the AW-1s at $99 a pair. They come with mounting hardware, a keyhole slot for flush mounting, and have an attractive all-weather gun metal aluminum finish.

The AW-1 rear channel speakers *integrate perfectly with the QD-1.*

Factory direct offer. The QD-1 is so new you won't find it at your local department store. To introduce this product, we are offering it direct to you for a limited time special offer. By ordering now, you can save a substantial amount of money.

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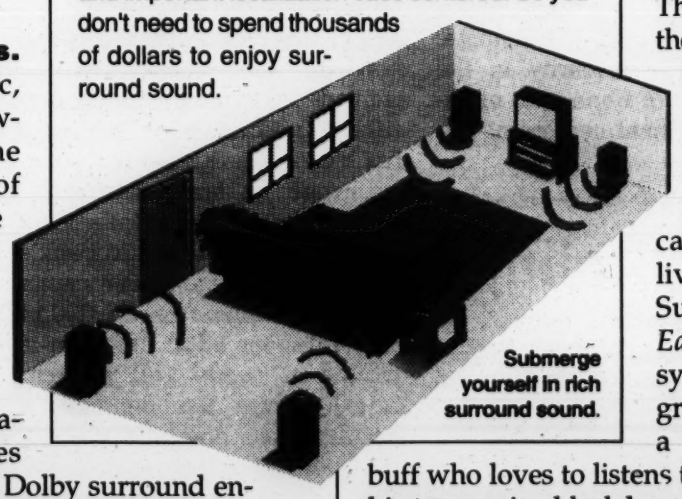
Dynaco offers rear channel speakers specifically designed to integrate with the QD-1 decoder. You may also need our center channel speaker, the A10-V, if your two front speakers are more than eight feet apart. Adding this fifth speaker, or center channel, helps keep dialogue and important localization cues centered. So you don't need to spend thousands of dollars to enjoy surround sound.



Submerge yourself in rich surround sound.

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Passive. The QD-1 is *passive*, meaning it requires no AC current. It actually sounds better than active decoders, producing more clarity, more detail, no noise, a greater sense of space, and zero distortion. This superior passive system is a breakthrough unique to Dynaco.

Active. All Dolby Pro-Logic decoders (stand-alone or built-in units) are active. This means they decode and amplify the signal electronically. The active way induces noise and distortion, hindering the home theater experience. This is an example where "more is less." Spending thousands on an active system will not give you the performance of the QD-1.

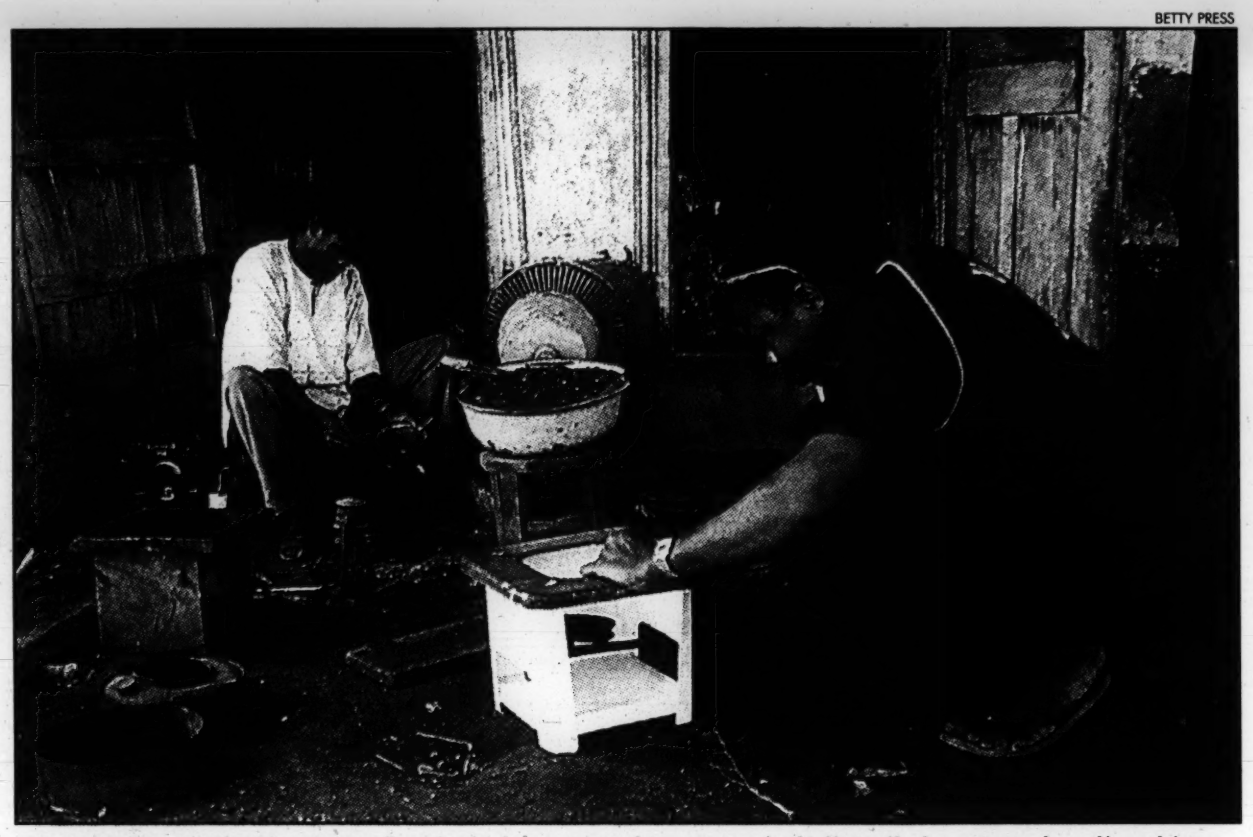
The QD-1 decoder *makes your movies come to life. Surround sound brings the theater experience home to you.*

INTERNATIONAL

Nigeria Waits to See if Military Allows Vote

Two political parties, both the creation of the ruling regime, are contesting the elections

BETTY PRESS



STOVE REPAIR IN IKERE-EKITI, NIGERIA: *Despite its huge natural resources, including oil, the country has slipped into the World Bank's low income category. High inflation has people scrambling to make ends meet.*

By Paul Adams
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

LAGOS, NIGERIA

NIGERIANS are on the threshold of a transition to democracy, but they have come this far and been turned away before.

One question dominates this country's politics: Will President Ibrahim Babangida keep his promise to hold elections on June 12, or postpone the transition for the fourth time in three years?

General Babangida, who took power in a military coup in 1985, reaffirmed this week that the armed forces were committed to handing over power Aug. 27, calling skeptics "choristers of the military-will-not-go tune."

But a military decree issued in April increased the powers of the Army-backed National Electoral Commission to put off the presidential polls, worrying some proponents of democratic rule.

Nigeria's Committee for the Defense of Human Rights called the measure "part of the grand design for perpetual clinging on to power by the military."

"If anything the decree has confirmed people's cynicism about the whole transition program," said Niyi Akintola, a lawyer and former politician.

The military decree followed word that the government planned to lift Nigeria's domestic fuel price subsidy, which brings the price of gasoline down to a little more than 10 cents a gallon, on June 1. But with tensions running high before the polls and the possibility that the move would cause riots, the government backed down and said it would postpone lifting the subsidy.

Another decree on May 6 declared it an act of sedition, punishable by death, to disrupt the government or the "fabric of Nigeria." The decree came shortly after a scathing attack on Babangida's rule in the local press by former head of state Lt. Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo, and after renewed calls for a national conference to decide the future of the federation of Nigeria.

Two political parties are contesting the presidential elections – the National Republican Convention (NRC), which is slightly right-wing, and the Social Democratic Party (SDP), which is slightly to the left. Both are creations of the Babangida regime, which banned all previous political groups in the 1980s and promised to foster a new breed of civilian politicians free from the corruption of the last civilian regime from 1979-83.

But with little difference in ideology or tradition to distinguish the two parties, money, patronage, and clan loyalties remain the criteria for election. Many Nigerians regard the two parties as artificial, and the large number of young people who have never known a general election are cynical about their choices.

Last December, Babangida annulled the results from earlier presidential primaries because, he said, the use of an open ballot led to blatant vote-rigging.

Fresh conventions at the end of March produced two Muslim candidates, both close to Babangida, both wealthy businessmen, and both without direct government experience. Bashir Tofa, the NRC candidate, emerged from obscurity in the northern city of Kano, one of Nigeria's traditional centers of political power.

His SDP rival, Moshood Abiola, a Muslim from the mainly Christian southwest, made his fortune during the 1970s through contracts with International Telephone and Telegraph to install a large part of Nigeria's telephone system, which is notorious for inefficiency.

Campaign speeches by both candidates have promised solutions to economic problems, and patriotism is the keynote. But Nigerians say no civilian government can tackle years of mismanagement and ethnic rivalry without making hard decisions that have been ducked for years.

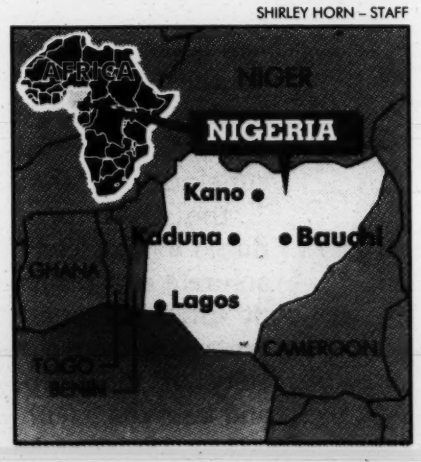
Despite its huge natural resources – oil among them – Nigeria has slid into the World Bank's low income category. Per capita income has fallen from $1,000 in 1980 to under $300. Inflation is running at nearly 100 percent, and the naira has depreciated sharply. Gross domestic product has been shrinking since mid-1992.

Breakdowns in oil refineries and distribution and rampant smuggling into neighboring countries have reduced the government-owned petroleum corporation to "a state of incipient chaos" according to a recent report by foreign oil companies based in Nigeria. Racketeers can buy a tanker load of subsidized fuel for $2,000 and sell it across the border for $60,000, while motorists in the northern and eastern regions can only buy fuel, if at all, at 10 times the official price.

Nigeria's population of about 88 million contains more than 250 ethnic groups, and Nigerians tend to vote along regional lines. The Hausa-Fulani group in the mainly Muslim northern region controls more than half the country, and since independence in 1960, they have been the dominant political force despite the greater economic development of the south. Poverty, official corruption, and low education standards are helping Islamic fundamentalism to take root in the north.

Christian leaders have warned that tension between Muslim and minority-Christian communities in the north could result in widespread violence. More than a dozen prisoners convicted of inciting riots face death sentences after violence in Kano, Bauchi, and Kaduna during the past two years that left thousands dead.

SHIRLEY HORN – STAFF



Babangida has said he is looking forward to retirement. If he keeps his word on Aug. 27, he will be only the second head of state in Nigeria's 33 years of independence to step down voluntarily. The only other man to do it, Mr. Obasanjo, recently emerged from his chicken farm in the southwest and urged Babangida to follow his example.

Venezuelan Leader Bows to Court Ruling

CARACAS, VENEZUELA

A SOMBER President Carlos Andrés Pérez, speaking before justices deciding whether to order him to stand trial on embezzlement charges, appealed to his countrymen yesterday to remain calm.

Mr. Pérez faced the prospect of becoming the first Venezuelan leader to go on trial since the country became a democracy 35 years ago. He is accused of stealing $17.2 million in government funds.

Caracas residents, wary after two coup attempts last year, jammed stores and markets Wednesday night to stockpile food. Many took to the streets and their balconies to bang pots and pans, a traditional form of protest in many Latin American countries.

Pérez, speaking on the radio yesterday morning, said: "Nothing will happen here, I have confidence in the people." He said the Supreme Court's decision means "more for democracy than it does for me," and that he would respect the ruling.

Fears of political upheaval and violence were widespread. On Wednesday, the president had said he would not resign and pledged to see the judicial process through if the court demands a trial.

Pérez told foreign correspondents Wednesday he would stand firm against any attempts at a military coup, whether mounted by opponents or supporters.

"I would act the same way I acted Feb. 4 and Nov. 27, defending democracy," he said, referring to the two coup attempts in 1992.

Pérez first held the presidency in 1974-79, a bonanza era in a country then the second-largest supplier of oil to the United States.

Memories of those lavish-spending years led Venezuelans to overwhelmingly re-elect Pérez in late 1988, despite allegations of corruption that marred his first term.

But Pérez's second term has been marked by political and social unrest in an oil-rich but corrupt country where a quarter of the population lives in abject poverty.

– Associated Press

Solidarity Threatens Polish Government In Bid to Boost Wages

By Francine S. Kiefer
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BONN

THE last 10 months of relative political stability in Poland may soon come to an end.

The Polish government, led by Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka, faces a vote of no confidence in the Sejm (parliament). It was introduced late Wednesday by the Solidarity trade union, which also called for a strike by transport workers today in Warsaw. The strike is expected to bring the capital to a standstill.

There is no guarantee that the Suchocka government can survive the vote, which at the earliest can take place on May 27. The government, a fragile coalition of several parties, has no majority in the Sejm, itself a fractious collection of over 20 parties.

Prime Minister Suchocka says there is no money for wage increases in the austere budget worked out with the International Monetary Fund.

Solidarity's complaint is the poor state of public-sector wages, which are considerably lower than the private sector's and have not kept up with the rising cost of living. The union seeks increased wages for teachers and health workers who went on strike in early May.

But after the union refused to accept the government's compromise of early parliamentary elections, an idea supported by the government's political opponents, talks broke down on Tuesday.

Prime Minister Suchocka has emphasized that there simply is no money for wage increases in the austere federal budget, worked out in agreement with the International Monetary Fund.

"For 40 years of Communism, there was a conviction among society that money is available, although the money was without any real value. People still have this habit, but the government is not willing – and the budget does not allow – for the printing of money with no value," the prime minister said in a May 4 interview with the Monitor.

The Suchocka government, the fourth in Poland in as many years, has survived two major strikes and pushed through significant reform legislation. It is described by many as Poland's first taste of political stability since introduction of democracy.

If Suchocka and her Cabinet fall, it is hard to predict exactly what will become of Polish economic reforms. Some analysts believe the economic fundamentals of Poland are now in place and cannot be rolled back – though perhaps further reforms could be delayed.

They point out that almost 60 percent of working Poles have jobs in the private sector, which turns out nearly half the country's gross domestic product. Broad economic reforms have been maintained, despite the succession of Polish governments.

Meanwhile, Poland became the first post-Communist country to emerge from recession last year when industrial production rose by 4 percent.

One long-time observer in Warsaw, however, says the progress of Polish economic reform is not "inevitable." He rules out a return to Communist days, but warns that a new Polish government could turn protectionist.

Andrzej Wroblewski, editor of the banking journal Gazeta Bankowa, says it's not impossible that a new government could bend to wage demands and crank up the money supply. This would ignite inflation, scare off foreign investment, and "ruin both the private economy and the state sector," he says.

Still, Mr. Wroblewski expresses cautious optimism. "Even though the government may collapse, I still don't believe a new one will give up everything in a panic."

The unique thing about this move to topple the government is that it does not necessarily have a broad base among Poles. Despite 14 percent unemployment, over 75 percent of the population has confidence in Suchocka, although they are far less sure of her Cabinet, public opinion surveys say.

"The government has a political problem that's worse than its social problem," says the observer. "It stems from the Sejm being a divided, diffuse body."

Part of Suchocka's political problem is the Solidarity trade union, which has evolved from a broad-based labor movement favoring democracy and economic reform to a tough trade union rooted in the declining, rust-belt industries.

"There is a competition among Solidarity leaders as to who can be the most radical," Wroblewski explains.

At factories, trade unions don't wield much power these days. "Our role is pretty much limited to social services," says Marek Swidzinskj, Solidarity leader at the Dywilan carpet factory in Lodz, one of Poland's most economically depressed cities.

"Our demands could be much larger," says Mr. Swidzinskj, "but we know that management can't fulfill them, so our demands are limited."

On regional and national levels, though, Solidarity still has the power to call a nationwide strike and apply considerable pressure to the government. It is this clout that adds to Suchocka's vulnerability.

Black youths mourn a fallen fighter in all-night vigil of song and speech – a letter from Sebokeng township

Sounds of South Africa's Anger and Expectation

By John Battersby
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

SEBOKENG, SOUTH AFRICA

CLOUDS of dust rise gently as mourners pound the earth to the rhythmic cadence of the *toyi-toyi*, a traditional protest dance.

Bright spotlights shine from behind the matchbox house, penetrating the darkness that envelops this township. Up and down the street chimneys belch pungent coal smoke thick with the aroma of sulphur.

Friends and relatives pack together on narrow wooden benches beneath a makeshift brown plastic awning, sheltering each other from the cold with the intensity of their collective chanting. Beyond the reach of the lights, figures huddle in heavy overcoats, whispering in hushed tones.

Another all-night funeral vigil is taking place in Sebokeng township, south of Johannesburg. A young member of Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the military wing of the African National Congress (ANC), has fallen, and the tribute becomes an occasion for militant black youths to vent their anger against the white government.

Since the ANC was legalized in 1990, roughly 400 people have died in brutal slayings in this township, but none of the perpetrators have been prosecuted. Faceless gunmen, directed by elements in the security forces bent on sabotaging the country's painful transition to majority rule, have often chosen funeral vigils as targets for massacres.

Only a month ago, on the eve of the funeral for the militant black leader Chris Hani, 19 people were killed in their homes by unidentified gunmen firing from a moving vehicle.

Hani was general-secretary of the South African Communist Party (SACP) and a former high-ranking official of the ANC. His popularity among township youth was unparalleled, and anger over his assassination six weeks ago has stretched the ANC's authority and influence to its limits.

Apart from several spectacular sabotage attacks on South African nuclear, military, and industrial targets, Umkhonto we Sizwe, or MK as it is known among township youth, never posed a direct threat to the powerful South African Defense Force. But it became an important symbol of resistance to apartheid.

The scene of the vigil, the township's Zone 12, is known as Angola – a tribute to the war-torn country that hosted the ANC's military bases through more than a decade of its 30-year exile. Adjoining neighborhoods have names like Cuba, Palestine, and Beirut.

Our arrival creates a flurry until the guards realize we are accompanied by ANC and SACP officials. Wami Nhlapo, secretary-general of the ANC's Sebokeng branch, leads us to the center of the huddled group of mourners. The 22-year-old MK member, Mzwakhe Stuurman, is said to have died of malaria about a year after returning from exile.

The vigil consists of speeches and more speeches, interspersed with war dances and songs, and culminating in a religious service in the early hours of the morning.

"Viva the spirit of no surrender, viva," bellows Lebohang Mahanta, SACP convenor and local ANC official. "Viva," replies the youthful crowd.

An ANC youth leader, who keeps reminding the crowd of about 50 mourners that he is a communist, strikes a militant but repetitive tone. He tells the crowd that malaria is a disease of the colonialists.

He praises the role of the SACP in the struggle and urges the mourners, many in their teens and younger, to join MK and the SACP.

"Capitalism and money are the root of all evil," he bellows to the crowd. "That is the situation, comrades."

He then names some suspected warlords of the ANC's rival, the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party, and police collaborators in the township, and adds: "They must be killed, comrades. They must be killed. That is the situation."

A YOUTH near the front of the crowd breaks into another war song in Xhosa, the vernacular of the majority of ANC leaders.

The song calls on the MK members to answer the call of the people of Angola to fight the rebels of Jonas Savimbi's National Union for the Total Independence of Angola. Another song bids farewell to the fallen soldier and exhorts those left behind to kill the Boers (Afrikaners).

"The spear has fallen, comrades," says regional ANC Youth League general-secretary Sakhiwe Khumalo in the traditional tribute to a fallen MK member. "I pick up the spear."

He continues: "There is going to be war comrades. If the government does not agree to an election date and a transitional executive council by the end of May, there is going to be war."

In the early hours of the morning, we travel eerily deserted streets to the relative seclusion of Mr. Lebohang's house in Zone 13.

Just before dawn, I am awakened by the sound of melodic chanting – the finale of another funeral vigil. As the melodic voices fade, the shrill screech of crowing roosters takes over.

The sounds of Sebokeng are still ringing in my ears. They are the sounds of anger and expectation.

ECONOMY

ROBERT HARBISON – STAFF/FILE

A MEXICO CITY BANK: *Salinas's move promises to hold political pressures at bay in monetary policy. His tight credit policies have already tamed inflation, but at the price of boosting commercial-bank interest rates.*

Mexican Central Bank Freed for Inflation Fight

By David Clark Scott
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

MEXICO CITY

PRESIDENT Carlos Salinas de Gortari wants no backsliding by future Mexican presidents. So he is setting his anti-inflationary program into constitutional concrete.

On Monday, President Salinas sent a proposal to the Mexican congress to grant autonomy to the central bank, now under his control. The Bank of Mexico will operate similarly to the United States Federal Reserve System and Germany's Bundesbank.

"The main mandate – over any other objective – will be to preserve the purchasing power of the national currency," said a statement from Salinas's office.

The bank will have independent control over money supply and will no longer be at the Mexican government's disposal to print money to finance public deficits. As in the US, the governing board will be appointed by the president but at staggered, "relatively long" intervals to avoid giving the president power to load the board with his people, the statement said. A board member will only be removed prematurely for "grave crimes."

"This is a positive step that should have been taken two or three years ago," opines Abel Hibert, economist at the Mexico Center of Econometric Research. "It makes it much more difficult for any future president to return to the vices of the past."

Specifically, Mr. Hibert refers to the acts of former President José Lopez Portillo, who nationalized the Mexican banking system in 1982. Under him, the government borrowed money from the Bank of Mexico to finance expenditures and run up enormous debts. During the ensuing economic crisis the value of the Mexican peso plummeted and inflation soared.

New step in Salinas plan

Salinas, a Harvard-trained economist, has labored to put the Mexican economy back on track. The granting of autonomy to the Bank of Mexico (the congress is expected to approve a phase-in starting in 1994) is seen as a follow-on to the reprivatization of 18 Mexican commercial banks in 1991. And by most indicators, Salinas has forged a successful Mexican economic recovery.

When Salinas took office in 1988, government internal debt amounted to 28 percent of Mexico's economic output. By 1992 the level was 12 percent. The annual inflation rate peaked in 1987 at 160 percent. With a combination of labor pacts and tight monetary policy, inflation was cut to 11.9 percent last year. The administration aims for single-digit inflation this year.

Salinas's anti-inflation program got a vote of confidence this week from the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council, which predicted that Mexico would close the year with a 9 percent annual inflation rate – the lowest in the last 25 years.

High interest rates

That outlook fits with the general consensus among Mexican economists. Mexico is expected to post about a 2.2 percent increase in economic growth for 1993, down from 2.7 percent in 1992. Although taming the inflationary bull, tight credit has slowed the economy and curbed job creation. Interest rates on commercial bank loans have been more than 20 percent.

To attract investors worried about a possible peso devaluation and a widening trade deficit, the Mexican government pushed up Treasury bill interest rates to 15 to 18 percent.

Hibert and many Mexican businesses hope lending rates will come down if the North American Free Trade Agreement is approved later this year and the government feels less need to attract foreign funds with high rates. Also, Mexican presidential elections will be held in mid-1994, and traditionally that means increased spending to spur the economy. Indeed, the months leading up to the elections will likely be a test of the Bank of Mexico's independence and anti-inflationary discipline.

Defense Cutbacks Squeeze Economy

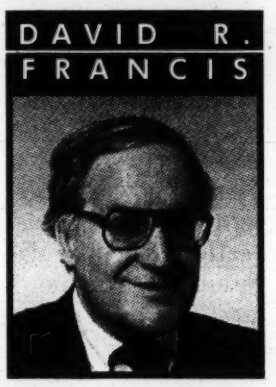
THE defense-industry crunch has arrived.

Many of the massive purchases of weapons made during the Reagan presidency are petering out. "Order books are going down, down, down," says Richard Bitzinger, an analyst with the Defense Budget Project in Washington. "A lot of major procurement programs are ending now."

Other weapons programs have been canceled, terminated, or shortened. The list includes the Army's M-1 tank, M-2 Bradley infantry fighting vehicle, AH-64 Apache helicopter, and RAH-66 Comanche light helicopter; the Navy's F-14D fighter, SSN-21 submarine, P-7A antisubmarine patrol plane, and A-12 advanced fighter/bomber; and the Air Force's F-15E fighter, F-16 fighter, and B-2 bomber program.

Defense companies are announcing more layoffs. The impact on the total economy has already been felt. One reason for the weakness in output in the first quarter was a drop in defense spending of $19 billion, more than many economists anticipated.

Military spending will pick up as the year moves on, figures David Wyss, an economist with DRI/McGraw-Hill, a consulting firm in Lexington, Mass. "Military underruns have never been a problem," he comments sarcastically. The Clinton budget puts military outlays at $306 billion in fiscal 1993.



Nonetheless, the more-rapid reductions in defense spending will cost jobs and slow the recovery. "The idea that you can do it smoothly is phoney," says Mr. Wyss. "It is a drag on GDP," the gross domestic product.

Under the Clinton plan, military spending will shrink 5 to 6 percent a year for the next few years after inflation, or about 2 to 3 percent in nominal dollars.

If the US and Western Europe were to intervene in Bosnia, the Clinton administration would go to Congress for a supplemental appropriation – size unknown. "It doesn't look like we are going to do anything," says Mr. Bitzinger.

Bitzinger and another Defense Budget Project analyst, Steven Kosiak, in a new study predict these changes:

■ As a share of GDP, defense outlays will fall by half from 6.5 percent in fiscal 1986 to 5 percent in fiscal 1992 and 3.2 percent in fiscal 1998. This 12-year reduction is much smaller than those after World War II or the Korean and Vietnam wars.

■ The reductions will affect less than 1 percent of all US workers over the next five years. In only three states – Hawaii, Virginia, Alaska – and the District of Columbia will job losses amount to more than 2 percent of total 1992 employment. In D.C., the most severely affected, the loss will be 3.4 percent.

■ Between fiscal years 1992 and 1998, the Clinton plan could result in the loss of 1.24 million defense-related jobs. By comparison, the more modest cuts proposed by President Bush would have led to the loss of 882,000 jobs.

■ Some 500,000 job losses within the Clinton plan were already set in force by decisions made by the Bush administration and Congress in the past several years.

A "significant portion" of these job losses will occur through early retirement, voluntary separation, and normal attrition, combined with lower hiring, the two analysts note.

The slow economic recovery is not making adjustments easy "We need growth elsewhere – housing, investment," says Wyss.

Defense firms are adjusting in different ways. Generalizing, large diversified companies with defense divisions, such as General Electric, Ford, General Motors, and United Technologies, are moving out of the defense business, says Bitzinger. For example, Ford Motor Company sold off its missiles unit to the Loral Corporation. GE sold its aerospace division to Martin Marietta.

By contrast, many large companies highly dependent on the defense business are preparing to fight for whatever defense purchases are left. These include Lockheed, Northrop, and Martin Marietta. General Dynamics is radically consolidating.

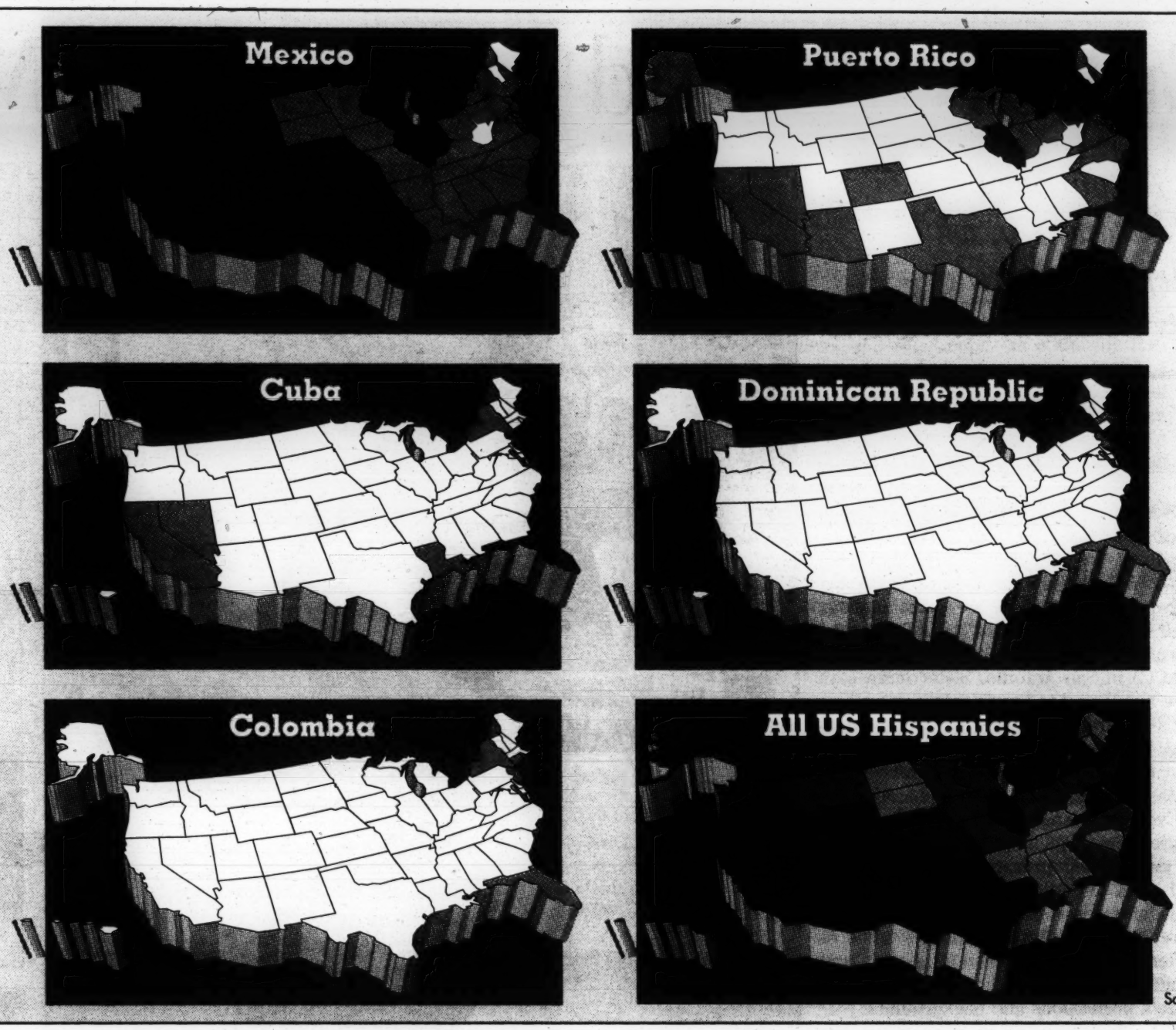
Some defense companies are cautiously trying to diversify into civilian activities. Others are selling weapons abroad. US overseas military sales have risen from $12 billion in 1991 to more than $28 billion in 1992. But this is a volatile and controversial area for business, notes Bitzinger.

In the long run, of course, defense cuts provide more resources for civilian purposes.

SPECIAL REPORT

HISPANIC AMERICANS: INTO THE MAINSTREAM

DAVE HERRING – STAFF



Distribution Of Hispanics In the US

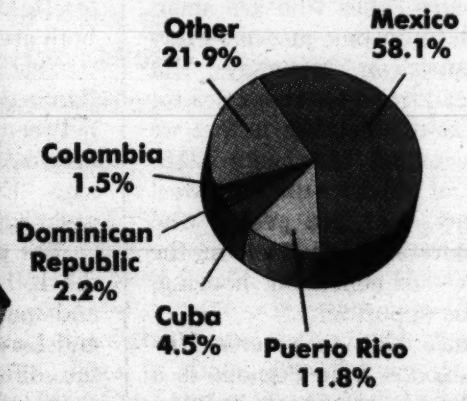
The maps at left illustrate the proportion of each state's residents that describe themselves as Hispanics, and their countries of origin.

KEY

- 20% or more
- 10% - 20%
- 2% - 10%
- 1% - 2%
- 0.2% - 1%
- less than 0.2%

Total Hispanic Population in the US

The pie chart below shows the countries of origin identified by the 22.4 million Hispanics residing in the US.



Source: US Bureau of the Census (1990)

Mexican-Americans in southern California (story below) balance assimilation and preserving their cultural heritage

US Hispanics: To Be *and* Not to Be

By Daniel B. Wood
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

POMONA, CALIF.

"THEY'LL love it in Pomona." These words, uttered by William Holden in "Sunset Boulevard," suggest how the 1950s film industry gauged middle-American tastes for their latest cinematic offerings.

Now this city of 140,000, about 60 miles east of Los Angeles, is 51 percent Hispanic according to the 1990 census, and some say the Hispanic population will reach 60 percent this year. In April voting, the town elected its first Hispanic mayor, and four of seven City Council members are also Hispanic.

What is developing in Pomona and dozens of nearby towns is being called the clearest example in the United States of fringe-suburban outposts known as "exurbs" or edge cities. From 1980 to 1990, Riverside County was one of the nation's fastest growing, and its Hispanic population – 80 percent of whom are of Mexican origin – increased 38 percent over the decade.

Experts say this demographic pattern makes the county an illustrative example of how Hispanics are assimilating into American culture, politics, and economy.

"Suburban areas like Riverside are where Hispanics move most naturally into the American mainstream," says Alan Heslop, director of the Rose Institute at Claremont McKenna College in Claremont, Calif. Assimilation, according to Dr. Heslop, a political demographer, does not mean that Hispanics or other minority groups abandon a sense of cultural identity, but rather that they are free to choose where to live for reasons other than a community's ethnic identity.

"For reasons of support and security, Hispanics have tended to remain far more congregated in rural and urban settings," Heslop says. Under his definition, Pomona's 51-percent Hispanic makeup makes it a city where ethnicity still exerts a powerful influence over choice of residence. But the small towns that ring it – such as Duarte, Glendora, San Dimas, Laverne, Sierra Madre, West Covina, and others – are the kinds of communities where Hispanics are making the jump out of the barrio and into the American middle class.

IN each of these towns over the past decade, Hispanic populations have grown from very low numbers to concentrations of 5 to 30 percent.

"You see it in the number of Hispanic service corporations, law offices, dentists, businesses, counselors, teachers in high schools," says Rudy Acuna, a professor of Chicano studies at California State College, Northridge. He notes a similar pattern in the San Fernando Valley, where Hispanics are moving beyond such traditional barrios as Pacoima and Arleta to North Hollywood, Sylmar, and Chatsworth.

The access card to bigger, better, and more affluent suburbia, according to new Pomona Mayor Eddie Cortez, is education.

"As they become more educated, Hispanics position themselves to move out of their de facto segregation that has served as a sense of security," he says. "They begin to see that what they want is not necessarily tied to the community that spawned them."

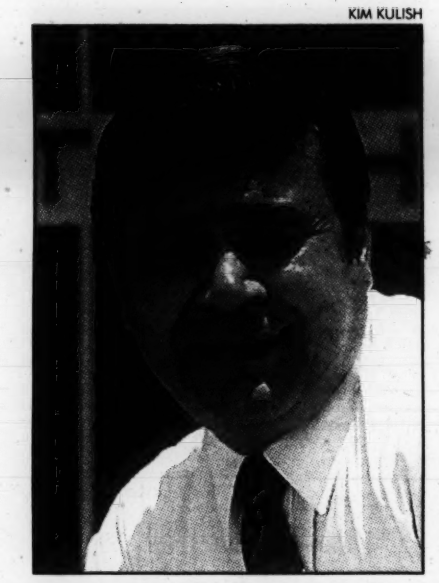
This issue, say ethnographers and Hispanic leaders, is forcing confrontation within the ranks. Should the barrio's most able – those who clear hurdles of language, culture, education – move out of primarily Hispanic areas, or reinvest the fruits of their success in their own neighborhoods?

"Having 51 percent of the population of Pomona is not the issue," says Tomas Arsua, a former city council member who was defeated by Mr. Cortez for mayor in April. "How do you get that 51 percent to move forward is the question."

Mr. Arsua would like to reverse what he calls "brain drain," as successful Hispanic professionals, business people, and scholars leave their familiar neighborhoods for middle-class suburban life.

See **POMONA** *next page*

KIM KULISH



EDDIE CORTEZ: ***The*** *Pomona, Calif., mayor sees education as essential.*

POMONA from page 9

"The media focus on the 10 percent of us who are new Hispanic political stars or the Harvards and Yalies who are smart enough to become just like every other American," Arsua says. "But the broad trend for Hispanics for the next two decades is that we are becoming the major labor force that will drive the Southwest economy. We need people who will address needs back in the barrios – of education, housing, business opportunity."

Arsua's plan to reverse Hispanic exodus from Pomona is a broad-based, grass-roots restructuring of the community, addressing housing needs, educational curriculum, and business inequities. But the four-year city council member and defeated mayoral candidate says that those supporting his ideas are an "extreme minority."

Much more at the forefront, observers say, is Mayor Cortez. Born in Texas to Mexican migrant workers, Cortez started an auto business with his parents' life savings 20 years ago. One of nine children, Cortez says his father's religious background taught him to detest segregation and to find ways to embrace opportunities.

"Where else but America can a family that grew up picking grapes blossom to produce a mayor, a businessman, a pharmacist, and a teacher?" he asks.

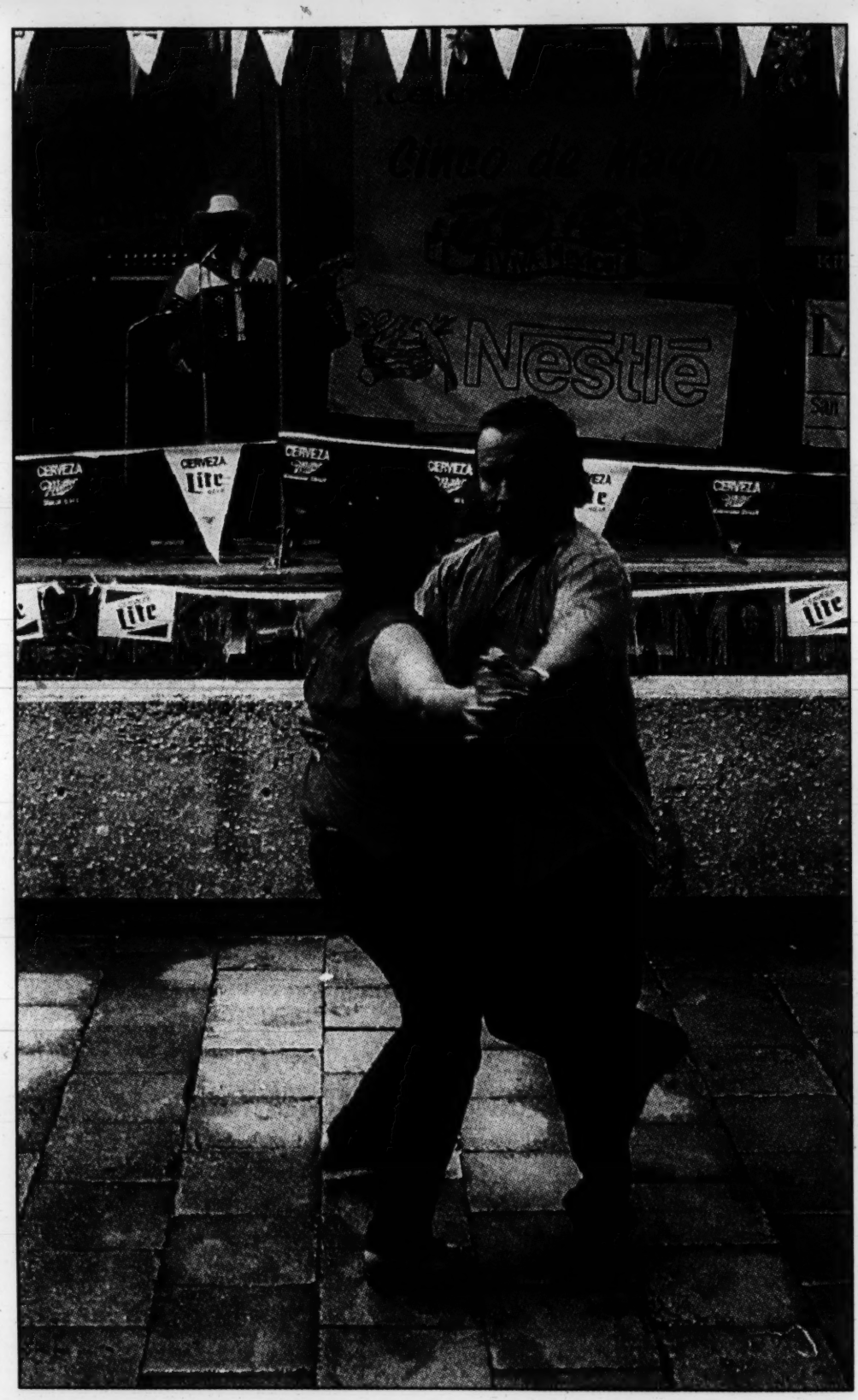
WHAT'S IN A NAME

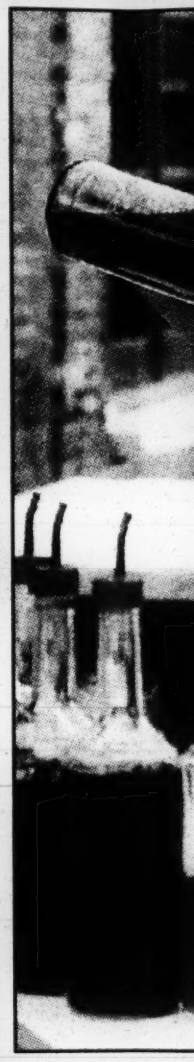
■ *Hispanic* is an umbrella term for anyone of Spanish or Portuguese descent, in or outside the US. It extends broadly also to those in the US of Latin American origin, but for this group alone, *Latino* is preferred. *Anglo* may distinguish between non-Hispanic and Hispanic or Latino whites. *Chicano(s)* (fem., *Chicana*) is a short synonym for a *Mexican-American*.

– From the Monitor Stylebook

Cultures Blend in Two Tex-Mex

San Antonio honors a Mexican hero, while border town Laredo toasts George Washington





By Scott Pendleton

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

LAREDO, TEXAS

IS Mexican-American culture threatened or thriving? The answer depends on whom you ask.

"When people are oppressed, the last two things they lose are their language and their religion," says Rosa Maria Icaza, who teaches at the Mexican American Cultural Center (MACC) in San Antonio. Sister Icaza says both are happening to her people.

That's far from apparent to Laredo's Saul Ramirez, the mayor of this city on the border between the United States and Mexico. "The language of choice is Spanish in Laredo," he says. "Even most Anglos that come into town assimilate themselves to speak Spanish."

The gulf in their perceptions is as wide as the 150 miles of cattle ranches, cotton farms, and mesquite desert separating San Antonio and Laredo. Geography accounts for some of the difference. History, demographics, and economics also come into play, as do Ramirez's and Icaza's professions and backgrounds.

Born in Mexico, Icaza is sensitive to that country's loss of 40 percent of its territory to the United States during the 1846 to 1848 war. Before the war, Mexico had claimed the Nueces River as its border with Texas, but the Treaty of Guadelupe Hidalgo moved the border south to the Rio Grande.

"We didn't cross the river. The river crossed us," Icaza says of the Mexican citizens who suddenly found themselves on American soil.

"Since then there has been the struggle of the Mexican-Americans to continue their language and culture." A whole generation became ashamed of Spanish because they were punished by Anglo teachers for using it, Icaza says.

As a nun at San Antonio's Assumption Seminary, where MACC is located, Icaza came into contact with poor Hispanic families through her pastoral work. One reason for that poverty, she concluded, was discrimination against Mexican-Americans in hiring and wages. And Hispanic high school students were steered toward careers as "mechanics and beauticians, never doctors or lawyers."

There was not even a Mexican-American bishop in the Roman Catholic church until San Antonio's Patrick Flores in 1970. Today there are 22 Mexican-American bishops. The now Archbishop Flores co-founded MACC in 1972 to promote the Spanish language and Mexican-American culture.

Asked to describe that culture, Icaza recounts elaborately the various roots of the Mexican-American people from before 1500 to today, along with values acquired from each: celebration of life learned from indigenous Americans, protection of family honor from the Spanish, and self-betterment from the US tradition. "Culture in a more folkloric way would be to tell you about tacos and mariachi bands," the gentle, white-haired nun smiles.

Every year San Antonio's Fiesta celebrates the Battle of San Jacinto, where Texans won independence from Mexico in 1836. "Why are we celebrating a battle where [Mexicans] were defeated?" Icaza says the MACC wondered.

So in 1978, MACC initiated a celebration that has grown to three days of festivities attracting hundreds of thousands of visitors. The center chose *Cinco de Mayo*, commemorating the defeat of Napoleon III's invading troops by Mexican forces on May 5, 1862.

The Mexican commander, Gen. Ignacio Zaragoza, had been born in Texas when the territory was still part of Mexico. "In some ways, the greatest hero of that battle is Mexican-American," Icaza says.

A statue of Zaragoza given by Mexico stands in the main square of Laredo. But Cinco de Mayo festivities have all but died out in this booming border town where the population is 95 percent Hispanic, the highest in the US.

One reason is that Laredo's sister city in Mexico, Nuevo Laredo, hosts a great Cinco de Mayo bash. Another is that Laredo puts so much energy into celebrating George Washington's birthday, staging a 10-day extravaganza that tops any other observance of the event.

AFTER Guadelupe Hidalgo turned the Rio Grande into a national boundary, the US Army built a fort at Laredo. Merchants came from the North to supply the troops.

These merchants wanted an American holiday they could celebrate. "Fourth of July was just too hot," says Sam Johnson, a board member of the Webb County Heritage Foundation. Washington's birthday, Feb. 22, was chosen instead. The first observance was in 1898.

The celebration has long outgrown discriminatory origins, thanks to extensive intermarriage. "Everybody who's been here any time

Mex Cities

PHOTOS BY ROBERT MCLEROY

CINCO DE MAYO: *At San Antonio's annual festival marking a Mexican military victory on May 5, 1862, Alicia Hernandez danced in the street earlier this month with Noe Varela, a visitor from Mexico (left to right in the photo at far left). Celebrants also quenched their thirst with Mexican-style snow cones served up by street vendors like Tim Canelo (above), and they enjoyed Latino music by performers such as Frank Diaz of Celsius Band (left).*

ation is has relatives on both sides of the river," Mr. Johnson says.

US. Mexicans, who also revere George Washington, stream to Laredo from hundreds of miles

city in south for the festivities. Elected leaders from

nco de the two countries meet on the bridge for a bor-

uts so der *embrazo*, or ceremonial embrace.

ashing- aganza Mayor Ramirez says the image of the US as

event. a "melting pot" is invalid. "We're a salad," he

says. "We're all different. All together, we make

the Rio something good."

the US Although overwhelmingly Hispanic, Laredo

rchants is increasingly cosmopolitan, with the arrival of

ps. Indians, Haitians, Lebanese, and people of oth-

an holi- er nationalities. Laredo is one of 30 finalists for

ly was the National Civic League's "All-America City"

d mem- award. "Believe it or not, Chinese food is

dation. extremely popular here," says Robert Morales,

chosen the city's information officer. More amazing is

98. the recent opening of two Taco Bell restau-

scrimi- rants. "Who on earth would want to eat at Taco

termar- Bell in Laredo?" he wonders.

ay time

Cubans Gain Power in South Florida, But the Mainstream Pull Is Strong

While some residents 'don't need English,' there's a ceiling without it

By Marshall Ingwerson
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

CORAL GABLES, FLA.

JUST last month, Dade County broke decades of dominance by Anglos and seated six Latinos on the 13-member county commission, plus four blacks, and only three non-Hispanic whites.

Then on Tuesday, the commissioners repealed a 1980 ordinance that established English as the official language of government business.

South Florida is consolidating its Latin, and particularly Cuban, character. Greater Miami has become a Cuban success story. Cuban-Americans are richer, better educated, and more confident than other Latino groups in the United States.

Even here, success in social and economic terms comes with a nearly irresistible pull into mainstream American culture and institutions. The difference in Miami, however, may lie in how far up the social ladder one can climb before entering the English-speaking world.

"In Dade County, we have a big problem [teaching English]," says Miriam Castillo, a teacher of English-as-a-second-language at Coral Gables High School. "They don't need two languages. The kid who wants to become a carpenter or electrician – he doesn't need English."

Not all students want to be carpenters or electricians, though. When Ms. Castillo taught Spanish-for-Spanish-speakers at an affluent middle school, the students were embarrassed to speak Spanish.

At Coral Gables High, the recent immigrants from Cuba or Central America band together socially and often resist learning English. But the hundreds of students attending the school in academic magnet programs show none of that tendency for group self-segregation, notes Assistant Principal Alicia Green.

The valedictorian four years ago at this academically competitive school, Esteban Torres, arrived from Cuba three years earlier speaking no English. He went from here to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge, Mass.

Mr. Torres assimilated to the larger American world at hyperspeed. But many Cubans feel a strong pull not to lose their traditional ties.

When Albert Rodriguez's family arrived in Miami from Cuba in 1955, both his parents spoke English but would not permit the language in their home. They worried that their children would forget Spanish if they used English at home.

"And I've seen that happen many, many times," Mr. Rodriguez says; "people with Spanish surnames and they speak very poorly in Spanish."

A good command of Spanish requires special effort, even in as robust a redoubt of high-quality Spanish as Miami.

The 1990 census counted half the residents of Dade County as ethnically Hispanic. According to surveys taken last year for the Miami Herald, 90 percent of those Hispanics have good or excellent ability to speak and read Spanish. Just a little more than half have such abilities in English.

But the Spanish heard here is spoken more often by immigrants, young and old, than by their children. In school, teachers encounter young arrivals who don't want to learn English and don't think they need to. But they also encounter students awkward in Spanish and slightly embarrassed by Spanish-only parents.

The issue isn't returning to Cuba: 'Now it's how we're going to make an indelible mark on Miami.'
– Albert Rodriguez

Rodriguez, who teaches history and language here, is entirely fluent and comfortable in both Spanish and English, as many Miamians are. He speaks to his young daughters only in Spanish, knowing they will learn English outside the home.

But his brother lives in much less intensively Latin Broward County to the north, and his children attend what Rodriguez refers to as "American" schools. Rodriguez speaks to his nieces in Spanish, because it feels too remote to speak to relatives in English. They understand him, but they answer in English. "They're losing it," he says.

One common variation among families is that when grandparents live in the same house with grandchildren, the grandchildren hold onto Spanish better.

Luis Cabrera arrived in Key West 42 years ago with his fisherman father. When his father headed back, the 16-year-old Mr. Cabrera stayed. He now has 11 grandchildren in the United States, and they all speak English. Two of them live with Mr. Cabrera and his wife in rural Pennsylvania and speak little Spanish. The other nine live in Hialeah, Fla., an intensively Cuban community in north Dade County. They all speak Spanish, says Cabrera, "because of my mother," who lives there.

Cabrera and his wife are happy just to visit Hialeah once or twice a year. In Pennsylvania, many of his friends are Italian, and he has a deep appreciation of the local Amish. He misses Cuban cuisine, but not the arguments over Cuban politics that come at the lunch counter.

Back in Miami, though, new arrivals from Cuba and points south help Latinos "not to forget who we are," says Green, who arrived from Chile when she was 15.

Still, most Cubans have moved beyond the long-held dream of returning to Cuba after Castro is ousted, Rodriguez says. "Now [the question] is how we're going to make an indelible mark on Miami."

TOM SALYER

ALBERT RODRIGUEZ: *The teacher at Coral Gables High School, though fluent in English, speaks exclusively Spanish to his daughters and nieces to preserve their Spanish fluency.*

SPECIAL REPORT | HISPANIC AMERICANS: INTO THE MAINSTREAM

In Massachusetts, Hispanics Gain Visibility

But unemployment, low voting registration, and – in some areas – a steep school-dropout rate present hurdles

By Keith Henderson
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

LAWRENCE, MASS.

WHEN you ask Ralph Carrero for evidence that things may be starting to get better for Hispanics in this economically depressed manufacturing center north of Boston, he points to himself. Mr. Carrero, whose parents immigrated from the Dominican Republic 25 years ago – when he was 2 – is the city's first Hispanic office holder. He was elected to the school committee in 1991.

For years, he says, the politicians in Lawrence simply looked the other way as the Hispanic community grew to the point that it is now 42 percent of the city's 70,000 residents. That neglect has begun to change, says Carrero, who doesn't hide his ambition to move on to higher offices than the school post.

He emphasizes that he wasn't elected just by the city's Hispanic residents, only a tiny portion of whom are registered to vote. "My election was by the community at large, which is mostly Anglo and elderly," Carrero says. "I showed them how education is tied to their grandchildren and to public safety, which is a major concern."

Reuben Nieves, of Puerto Rican descent, is chairman of Lawrence's Chamber of Commerce. From his perspective, too, there's reason for hope, even in a city where the unemployment rate among Hispanics is at least 12 percent and probably nears 50 percent for 16- to 25-year-olds. Lawrence also has a long history of manufacturing decline, arson, drug-abuse problems, and ethnic conflict.

Mr. Nieves sees a greater willingness to address the needs of Hispanics not only in Lawrence, but also in Massachusetts as a whole. Gov. William Weld recently appointed a Hispanic Advisory Council for the state, on which Nieves serves **(see story below)**.

Among states, Massachusetts ranks 10th in the number of residents of Hispanic background. Other parts of the Northeast, notably New York, have much larger Hispanic populations – 2,214,000, compared with the Bay State's 287,549, according to the 1990 census.

But one thing that characterizes Massachusetts Hispanics, according to Deborah Ramirez, chair of Governor Weld's advisory commission and a law professor at Northeastern University in Boston, is their relative "invisibility" because of their geographical diffusion around the state and their diverse national origins.

This creates a "political problem," says Ms. Ramirez, since the community has found it hard to make its voice heard. "The folks in one city don't know those in other places.... We're 4.8 percent of the population in the state, but there's not a single statewide elected official" who is Latino.

Another factor characterizing Hispanics in this state, Ramirez says, is the disparity between economic standing and educational attainment. The poverty rate among Hispanics in Massachusetts is 47 percent, versus a national rate of 25 percent. The high-school dropout rate for Hispanics here, however, is significantly lower than the national rate. Ramirez calls this "a continuing conundrum."

Even with a graduation record better than in other areas of the US, Hispanics in many parts of Massachusetts face deep educational problems, as Carrero can attest. He not only serves on Lawrence's school committee, but he also coordinates the bilingual program at the Greater Lawrence Vocational Technical High School. Hispanic kids in Lawrence still drop out of school at a rate higher than 40 percent.

The key to keeping kids in the classroom, says Carrero, is a partnership with parents. "The schools' plight or success will be measured by the magnitude of parental involvment," he asserts.

But getting that involvement is an uphill struggle, because many teachers don't want to reach out, and many Hispanic parents don't want to reach in. "In many Latin American countries, teachers are viewed with lots of dignity and respect. Parents don't question them – the teacher knows best," explains Carrero. "Now they come to the US, where public education calls for involvement from its clients. It's a whole different situation, and you can't do the job unless you're involved."

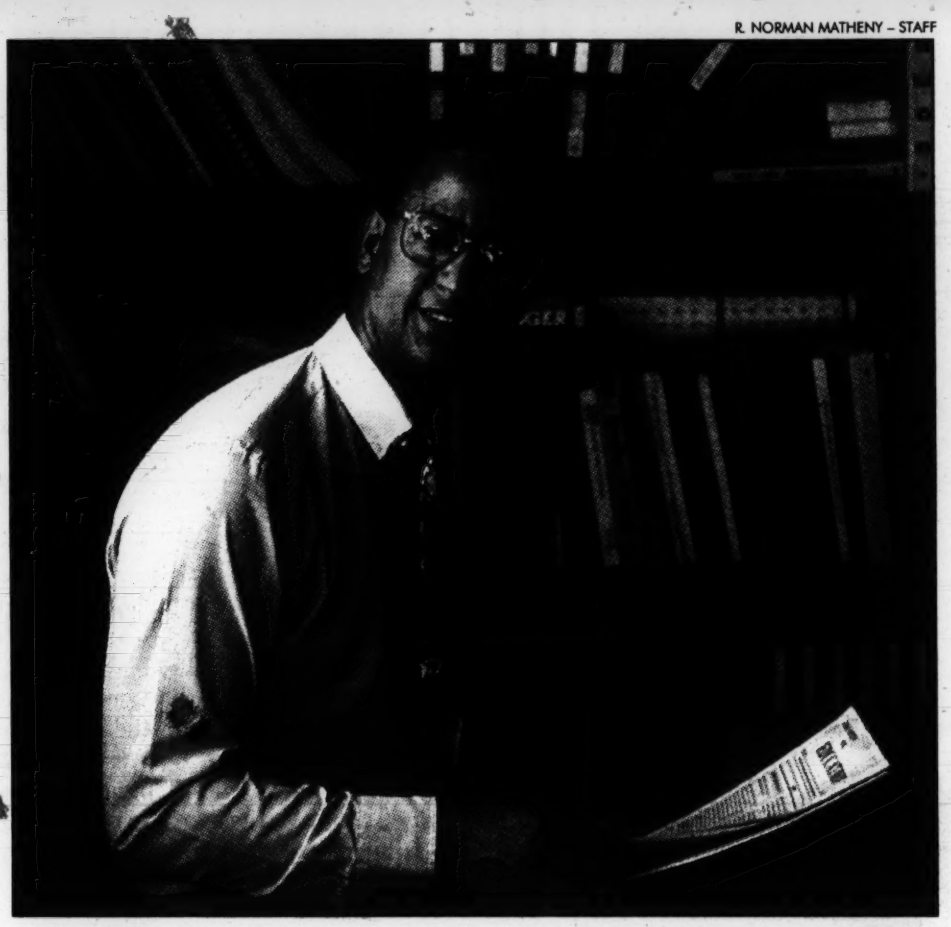
As a politician, Carrero sees a somewhat related problem in politics: Many Hispanics don't want to participate. But the motivations here, born in their old countries, are different, he says. "Their perception of government may be as a corrupt entity – that it's better not to let government know who you are."

Voter registration is a critical issue. When he ran in 1991, there were 1,000 to 1,500 registered Hispanics, Carrero says. Now there are 3,500, and by the end of the year – when he may resign from the school committee to run for a city council seat – the total could reach 6,000, he says.

But even an issue like voting can expose fissures within the Hispanic community, cautions Eddie Sanabria, who directs the Lawrence Community Partnership, a private social agency in the city. The Puerto Ricans, one large segment of the Hispanic population here, can automatically vote as US citizens. They also can move freely between their home island and the US mainland.

Dominicans, the other large component, are often recent arrivals who lack those rights, yet they run most of the Hispanic-owned businesses in Lawrence, notes Mr. Sanabria. This can create tensions, he says, but "we're trying to get the inter-group process going."

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF



RALPH CARRERO: *The school committee member, who is the first Hispanic elected official in Lawrence, Mass., is one of many local immigrants from the Dominican Republic.*

Bilingual Hispanics Can Play an Economic Role in the Bay State

ROBERT HARBISON – STAFF

DEBORAH RAMIREZ: *The law professor was appointed by Governor Weld to help build bridges with Hispanics.*

BOSTON

HISPANICS are the largest minority group in Massachusetts, with 287,549 people in a dozen or more cities and towns in the state. But most people would be surprised to learn that, says Deborah Ramirez.

Ms. Ramirez, a professor of law at Northeastern University in Boston, chairs the advisory commission on Hispanics set up by Gov. William Weld. The commission's work, she says, is to build bridges between the state's rapidly growing Hispanic population and mainstream society.

Ramirez, who grew up in the Latino sections of Chicago, is well-suited for such bridge-building. She vividly recalls her mother's stories of the humiliation she endured as an immigrant schoolgirl unable to understand English.

Ramirez grew up in an "English only" home and never attained fluency in Spanish. That might have aided her progress toward a law degree from Northwestern University, near Chicago, a post as assistant US attorney here (under then US Attorney William Weld), and her teaching job. But it left her feeling ambivalent.

"I sometimes feel as if I'm between worlds – that I'm not really of the Latino community here," Ramirez says, adding that language "is interwoven with ethnicity." She is making sure her own daughter, now 3, learns the ancestral language.

Another argument for being multilingual, according to Ramirez, is economic. She says Massachusetts's research and technology capabilities, plus its relatively well-educated Hispanic community, could put the state in a favored position under the North American Free Trade Agreement.

This economic argument is one rationale for the work of the advisory commission, which began a series of public hearings on May 18. But the goal of giving Mr. Weld a "blueprint of the Hispanic community in the state," as Ramirez puts it, also springs from Weld's desire to understand the needs of this group.

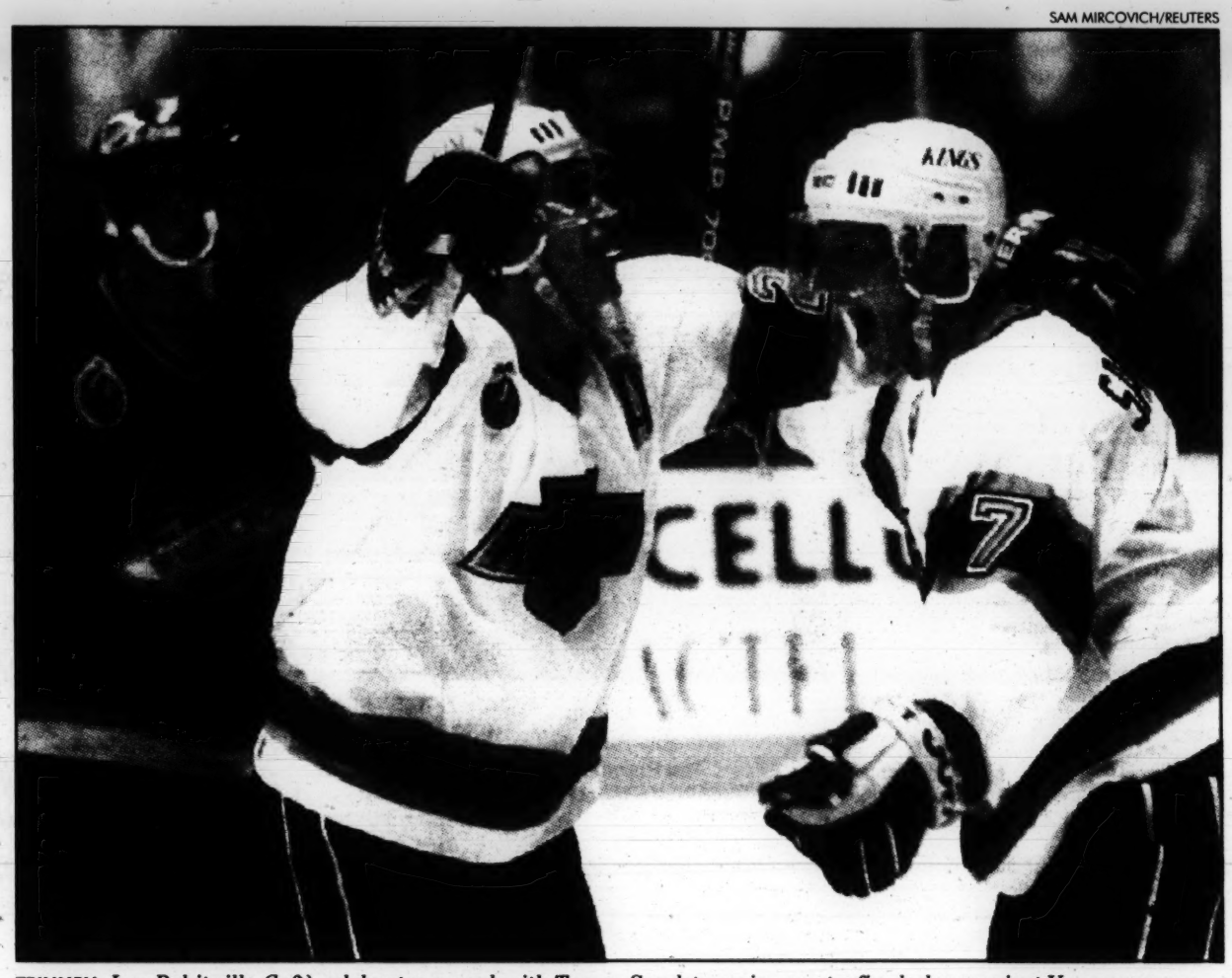
– K. H.

SPORTS

Ice Hockey Heats Up Los Angeles

The Kings make the semifinals, and the Beautiful People come out in droves

SAM MIRCOVICH/REUTERS



TRIUMPH: *Luc Robitaille (left) celebrates a goal with Tomas Sandstrom in quarterfinal play against Vancouver.*

By Scott Armstrong
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

LOS ANGELES

HOCKEY and Los Angeles would seem to go together like Morton Downey Jr. and MacNeil-Lehrer. Like a tuxedo and tassled loafers.

But in this land of Spandex and surfboards, beneath the palms and pulchritude, there is a new icon: the Los Angeles Kings.

Ever since the hockey team made its ignoble debut in garish purple-and-gold uniforms in 1967, going scoreless against Philadelphia, the Kings have mustered a modest but loyal following.

In 1988, the year the sport's marquee player, Wayne Gretzky, was traded to Los Angeles, the platoon of fans grew into a regiment and the regiment into a militia.

Now, with the Kings' improbable presence in the semifinals of the National Hockey League's Stanley Cup playoffs for the first time in franchise history, it's suddenly Showtime in Los Angeles again – on ice instead of birch flooring.

"There is no doubt that hockey is at its peak in southern California right now," says Bob Miller, the broadcast voice of the Kings for 20 years. "You've really got everybody following it and talking about it."

Playoff tickets here are as coveted as a bleacher seat at the Dorothy Chandler Pavilion on Academy Awards night. When 22,000 seats went on sale last week, they were gone in 47 minutes. Kings jerseys, updated to trendy silver and black, have supplanted Dodger blue and Laker purple in many neighborhoods.

Still, Los Angeles is no Toronto, where fireworks cascade inside Maple Leaf Gardens and local newspapers print special editions after important wins. (The Maple Leafs and Kings, who split the first two games in Toronto, resume their best-of-seven series in Los Angeles tonight.)

Nor is it Montreal, an urban hockey museum, where winning the Stanley Cup is expected. The Canadiens lead the New York Islanders in the other semifinal matchup.

Actually, a hat trick has long been something more than a magician's stunt with a rabbit here. In the 1930s and '40s, college hockey flourished in Los Angeles. Double-headers held at an outdoor rink in Westwood routinely drew 8,000 spectators.

Minor-league teams in the West have filled their share of seats, too. And the Seals, an expansion team in Oakland, had a short-lived career there before moving to Cleaveland and becoming defunct.

Since the late 1980s, though, interest in hockey has mushroomed with the arrival of Gretzky and other popular players. Ice rinks in the area are now usually booked round the clock. Rollerblade leagues, still the preferred form of hockey here, are ubiquitous. That other peculiar form of self-expression, vanity license plates, sport names like "EYES-HKY" and "5-4-FYTN."

Last year the Kings sold out all 40 home games – the first local professional sports franchise to do so. Even the Lakers, who share the Great Western Forum with the Kings, didn't fill all seats at the height of Showtime with Ervin (Magic) Johnson.

Then there is that official imprimatur of success in Los Angeles: gazing at stars. While the Lakers have Jack Nicholson, inky sun glasses and all, the Kings usually get John Candy, Goldie Hawn, Kurt Russell, and lately Ronald and Nancy Reagan.

None of this, however, has done much to dispel, and probably has encouraged, the image that Angelenos still think a puck is that Wolfgang fellow who runs Spago restaurant. The stigma extends into the locker room.

"People say you can't win in this climate, that you can't play hard here," says first-year coach Barry Melrose. "That's totally bogus."

Melrose strolls behind the players' bench in Italian suits and sports a ducktail of shoulder-length hair. His style, though, isn't laid-back Los Angeles. It is lunch-pail work ethic.

'People say you can't win in this climate, that you can't play hard here. That's totally bogus.'

– Barry Melrose, L.A. Kings coach

"People say L.A. is the place where people go to end their careers," says Melrose. "That's bogus," too.

That did not silence the snickering when the league's newest team, owned by the Walt Disney Company, was scheduled to debut down the road in Anaheim next year under the name Mighty Ducks. But therein lies further evidence (Goofy to some, Dumbo to others) that hockey is no longer a Frost Belt phenomenon.

"When you think of L.A., you think of Hollywood and the beach and sunshine," says Marty McSorley, Kings defenseman and chief enforcer. "That is tough to get rid of."

The best way to change something, as Hollywood knows, is to change the ending. When Gretzky joined the Kings, he said he had two missions: to promote hockey in southern California, which he has done, and to bring Los Angeles its first Stanley Cup, which has proven maddeningly elusive.

He has helped bring the Kings to the playoffs in a year when many thought he couldn't do it anymore. Injury and age brought murmurs of retirement – from Gretzky as well.

But he has reemerged in the playoffs with the young legs that helped him set 58 league scoring records.

Skating with a gimmie-the-puck glide, he has added scoring to his other assets of playmaking and cotton-swab-soft passing.

The Kings, though, still have to get around the Maple Leafs, who have their own Great One, Doug Gilmour, and who are on a Mountie-like mission after 26 years without a Cup. Toronto excels at the disciplined, defensive style that usually wins playoffs. The Kings are offensive but erratic – more home-run derby than pitcher's duel. Then would come either Montreal or New York.

"L.A. hockey has come so far," says Gretzky. "It really is fun right now. But we know we still have our work cut out for us."

WORTH NOTING ON TV

By Alan Bunce

■ **SUNDAY**

National Geographic Explorer *(TBS Superstation, 9-11:30 p.m.)*: Underwater archaeology – with the help of dramatic film editing – has yielded some evocative TV viewing over the past few years. Melville's haunting words about the bones of ancient navies may come to mind as cameras move dreamlike across historic sunken ships such as the long-lost Titanic. This documentary – an expanded edition of the Explorer series – adds its own compelling clips to the genre, as undersea-expedition leader Robert Ballard and his team find ships that were sunk in the battle of Guadalcanal, a turning point in World War II. The physical record is given life by accounts of men who recall the horror of those days, and some of the survivors now meet their former enemies. By way of a pre-Memorial Day tribute to those who fought, former President George Bush, himself a Navy flier in the Pacific theater some 14 months after Guadalcanal, makes an introduction from the decks of the battleship Texas, speaking in personal terms about his memories and referring to the loss of gunnery officer Ted White. Perhaps fittingly, one of the program's production companies is NHK Japan.

■ **MONDAY**

The American Television Awards *(ABC, 9-11 p.m.)*: Yes, it's still another awards show, with the usual drill of nominations, excited announcements, and acceptance speeches. But it's a little different from the more familiar prime-time Emmys, which air on the same network this fall. Nominees were picked through a survey of 400 people who write about the medium. Decidedly, that doesn't make the choices any better, but perhaps a little different from what they'd be if selected by members of the profession itself. Winning actors will get rather lengthy profiles of their careers, and in the case of winning shows, behind-the-scenes video visits will be offered. Even the categories themselves ("Dramatic Series," "Reality-Based Programs," etc.) will be introduced with a look back at the genre and its history in the medium.

Please check local listings for all programs.

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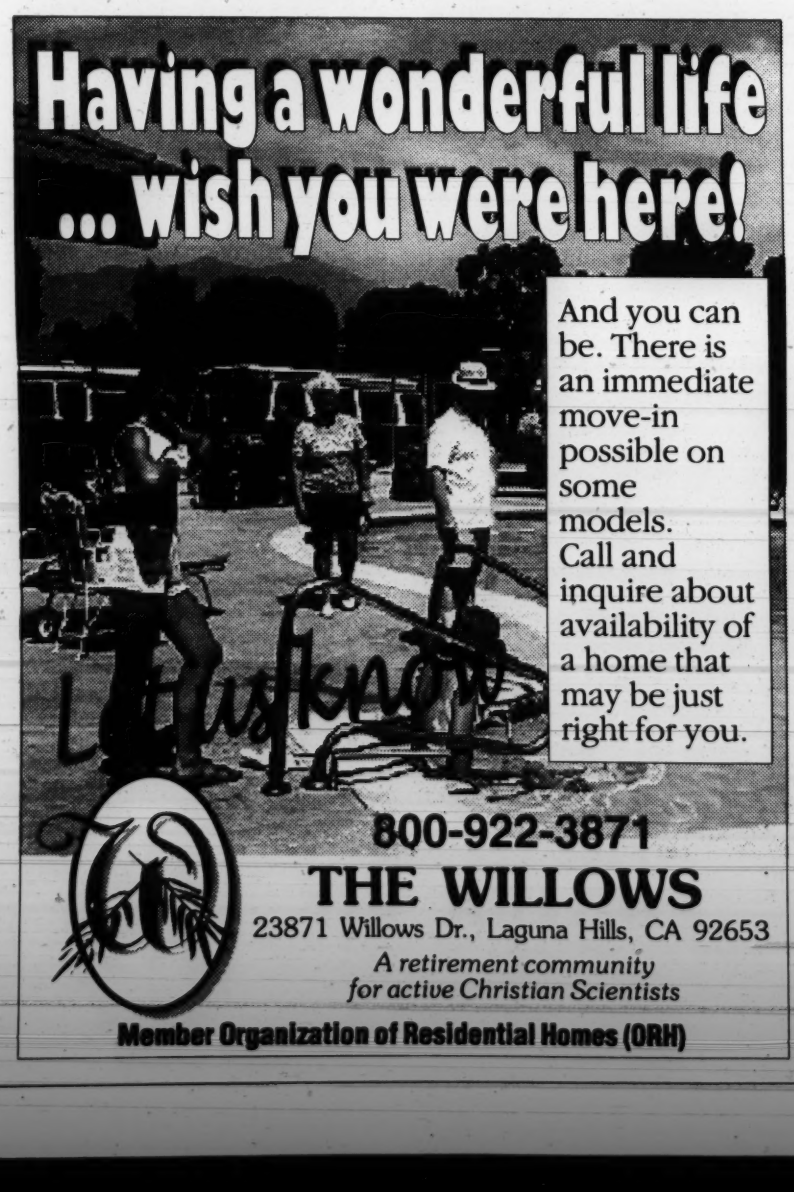
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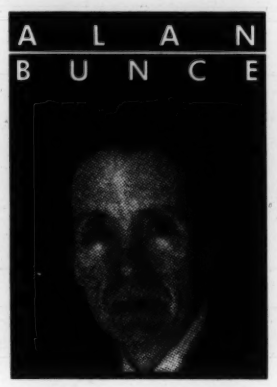
MONITOR CLASSIFIEDS
Every Friday

Close Encounters With Ads

A COUPLE sits on the porch of their lakeside cabin watching the sun go down in a blaze of colors. The wooded setting is tranquil and secluded, presumably safe from man-made intrusion.

As they view the dazzling sight, cosmic letters form across the heavens: "This sunset is brought to you by the makers of ..."

It was one of those ludicrous New Yorker magazine cartoons that stick with you for no obvious reason – I saw this one decades ago. Its premise was grotesque, of course: that advertising's inexorable intrusions would eventually include nature itself. But I still wondered if one day reality was going to catch up with it.



Last month it did. A company in Georgia said it wants to put a giant billboard in orbit around the earth in 1996. Even the company's name makes you shiver: Space Marketing Inc. Their heavenly placard would be a mile long and stay in place for about three weeks, appearing about the size of a full moon to us earthlings.

The magazine Advertising Age has called the project "The biggest advertising opportunity in history." One Space Marketing official described the billboard as a "global" marketer whose advertising message would need to be recognizable worldwide – like Coke, McDonald's, Kodak, or Nike.

There has been a flood of protests, of course. Scientists and academics decry the Orwellian prospect of using space this way. One group has even asked the United Nations to do something about the ominous plan.

But it doesn't take a space-age abomination like this one to make some advertising objectionable. The main problem with the monstrous vision of an orbiting billboard is not so much the nature of the space it's occupying as its inescapability. The trouble is, you can't turn off the sky. The question behind the issue is whether any area should be off-limits to advertising these days. The answer: Sure – advertising doesn't belong anywhere that you can't physically avoid it with reasonable ease.

Years ago in certain cities, local authorities floated the idea of running audio commercials in buses. You'd step in, pay your fare, sit down, and hear blaring pitches for consumer products – the justification being that it would help the city budget.

But the reaction was just as indignant as the current one to orbiting ads. As temporary captives, bus-riders knew – just as surely as today's incensed scientists do – that their space should remain inviolable.

In between outer space and bus interiors lies trickier territory. How about highway billboards along scenic routes? And how about public TV – that's supposed to be off-limits, isn't it? Those "expanded" credits for companies underwriting public-TV programs are worrying lots of viewers, who detect territorial ambitions.

Even home videos have come to represent a haven from advertising. To you and me they may be a way of seeing movies on the tube without commercials. To at least one ad agency, according to a memo, they are an "advertising opportunity" – as if, like nature abhorring a vacuum, the agency just couldn't abide the absence of commercials during all those uninterrupted hours of entertainment.

Some of the most creative work in TV and print are found in ads, and sometimes they're more interesting than the rest of the material. But there are some places they don't belong.

Few Insights Into Van Cliburn

By Philip Kennicott

IT has been 35 years since Van Cliburn was welcomed with a New York ticker-tape parade to celebrate his stunning victory at the 1958 Tchaikovsky Piano Competition at the height of the cold war. In that time, Cliburn has both exceeded and disappointed the artistic expectations he raised.

Some of the key players in his career are gone – Khrushchev, Eisenhower, the impresario Sol Hurok, and the pedagogue Rosina Lhevinne. But enough of the people who made him a legend remain, certainly enough to research and write a critical biography of the artist.

Howard Reich's "Van Cliburn" is not that book. It is one of the worst pieces of music journalism to surface in a long time. It is a sycophantic exercise that is adulatory to an embarrassing degree. But it does point to what went wrong with Cliburn's career as one of this country's greatest pianists.

It must not be easy to write about Cliburn. Although known for his generosity, he is apparently an emotionally cautious and retiring man. Reich's book includes material from several interviews with the artist, but most of what he says might have come from his press agent. It reveals nothing about his emotional, spiritual, or private life.

BOOKS

VAN CLIBURN
By Howard Reich
Thomas Nelson,
428 pp., $24.99

The book treats important issues superficially: Who really won the propaganda war over Van Cliburn, the United States or the Soviet Union? How did it change the political role of the musician? How did the friction between public image and private reality affect the artist? And how has he been so successful maintaining the integrity of his public character? There are many rumors and insinuations about Van Cliburn to deal with, but Reich ignores them.

Although it made him a household name, the Tchaikovsky Competition also defined the Texas-born Cliburn as a particular kind of artist – romantic and passionate, but also youthful, open, and spontaneous. The famous picture of Cliburn greeting Khrush-chev went around the world, but it also froze the young pianist at a particular point of maturity This may have been a factor in Cliburn's decision to retire for a decade, beginning in the late '70s.

It's hard not to wonder if a truly honest biography might not be just the sort of public catharsis that Cliburn needs to return to a full concert schedule. In any case, those interested in his life will have to wait for a more thoroughgoing chronicle.

■ *Philip Kennicott writes on classical music from New York.*

FREEZE FRAMES

A weekly update of film releases

By David Sterritt

■ SPLITTING HEIRS
Eric Idle, formerly of the Monty Python comedy team, plays an ordinary British bloke who discovers he's a long-lost member of a venerable and extremely wealthy family. In order to claim his inheritance, though, it looks as if he'll have to do away with a feisty American everyone accepts as the proper heir. As often happens in Monty Python shows, some parts of this silly farce are quite amusing while others fall completely flat; only devoted Idle fans are likely to find the whole picture worth watching. Barbara Hershey and Rick Moranis give solid supporting performances, though, and the scenes featuring Idle opposite John Cleese have the split-second timing and hilarious absurdity of Python routines at their most freewheeling. Directed by English filmmaker Robert Young from Idle's screenplay. *(Rated PG-13)*

■ JOEY BREAKER
The title character is a high-energy talent agent who's juggling a dozen deals and conducting a romance on the side. At the beginning of the story he's so calculating and efficient that he hardly seems human; but some hard experiences, and the love of a good woman, teach him to slow down and learn compassion for people who are weaker and more vulnerable than he is. Much of this comedy-drama hinges on the starring performance by Richard Edson, who is best known as the sidekick in "Stranger Than Paradise" and the nice-guy brother in "Do the Right Thing." In the early scenes he makes Joey so real and obnoxious that you want to throw something at him. But eventually he shows the character's likable side, and the movie takes on new interest despite its rather rough-hewn style. There's also a first-class acting debut by Cedella Marley, who is captivating as the object of Joey's affections. Written and directed by newcomer Steven Starr, himself a former high-powered talent agent who obviously knows this territory. *(Rated R)*

The Home Forum

A '60s Idea for the '90s

IT is almost as if decades are able to talk – or at least sling mud. Each seems to look back over the last and pronounce it not only gone forever, but totally lacking in credibility.

"Oh," say the 1970s, "*that's* the kind of thing they did in the '60s," the tone of disapproval and disbelief obvious and crushing. And ever since the '90s began, this decade has been making withering remarks about the '80s.

Do we really think and act in distinct periods of 10 years? Surely not; but we do, nevertheless, tend to use such a notion to our own ends, as a means of self-renewal, perhaps, or disassociation from our past selves. There is, however, a baby-and-bathwater aspect to this process that is not altogether productive. No decade can be all bad ... except, of course, the '60s!

Yet we like to forget that the "they" of the '60s were, at least partly, the very same people as the "we" of the '70s and so on – with the addition of a rising generation or two, of course. Naturally the newcomers – sons and daughters of the last bunch – criticize the outmoded fashions and tastes of their elders. The aim is to relegate *them* to the past, while *we* claim our birthright to the present.

I phoned someone I had long been out of contact with. He knew the Beatles, and I wanted to ask him some questions for an article. "My heavens!" he exclaimed, "a voice from the past!"

"Oh, no," I countered, "I'm in the present. You're in the past!"

The fact is that we are both in the present – and the past. Children of what? The '40s? The '50s? But both, much more consciously, young adults belonging to the '60s. Not that for a single moment would I relish being back again in my 20s in the '60s. But I do think it was a remarkable time, and that wasn't just because it was when young ladies with astonishingly long legs dressed in primary-colored PVC as if they were plastic shopping bags, or when artist Peter Blake did the cover for the Sgt. Pepper album, or even when against all the odds, man landed on the moon, thus confounding the short-legged old lady in the Midwest who maintained that if God had intended man to land on the moon he would have built a ladder.

Serious things happened then too – things that have lasting significance. After a dreary postwar time, there was something vital in the air in the '60s that was – at long last – anti-*Angst*, antigloom, antihelpless, antihopeless. It was as if we could at least shake off some of the past and get on with the present.

Of all the decades in our century to be lambasted and denigrated by those following it, the '60s seem to have had it the worst. Mind you, the '30s were at one time (in the '60s, for example) treated to a similar blend of ridicule and dismissiveness. Architecture of the 1930s, for example, was thought to be the last thing in absurdity. But now for two-and-some decades, the architecture of the '60s has been subjected to onslaught after onslaught of blackening comment. Even folksy suburban housing of a purely nostalgic and sentimental sort has seemed preferable in the '70s and '80s to the completely blameworthy architecture of the '60s.

Though the '60s hardly initiated the "high-rise," the decade is blamed endlessly for it, and for brutalist concrete arts centers and city halls and anonymously dreary office blocks. Many such "modernist" atrocities did reach a terribly low point in the energetic building programs of the maligned decade. But too easily overlooked was a simultaneous venturesome idealism that resulted in some buildings of notable originality and *Zeitgeist*. It would be a mistake to pull these down at the earliest possible opportunity.

How much better can we say the architecture (or art, or fashion, or design) of the '70s and '80s has been? A fairly strong argument could be made to show that the '60s were, in fact, the last decade in which a progressive, inventive, optimistic spirit-of-the-times instilled people with a convinced energy, and that the decades afterwards have been periods of pluralistic confusion, self-doubt, nostalgia, sentimentality, and a backward-looking, pastiche view of the world.

In tarring and feathering the "modernism" of '60s art, some subsequent critics have made it look out of touch with life, either dismissing it as a trivial fad (along with the "Swinging '60s," Carnaby Street, the miniskirt) or a self-regarding system devoted to abstraction and formalism, ignoring social context and disregarding history.

We don't need nostalgia – even for the '60s. We may also not need an uncritical espousal of the new simply because it is new.

Other critics have dubbed '60s abstract art as a kind of academic credo that did not allow for other views and styles – an orthodoxy of "the modern."

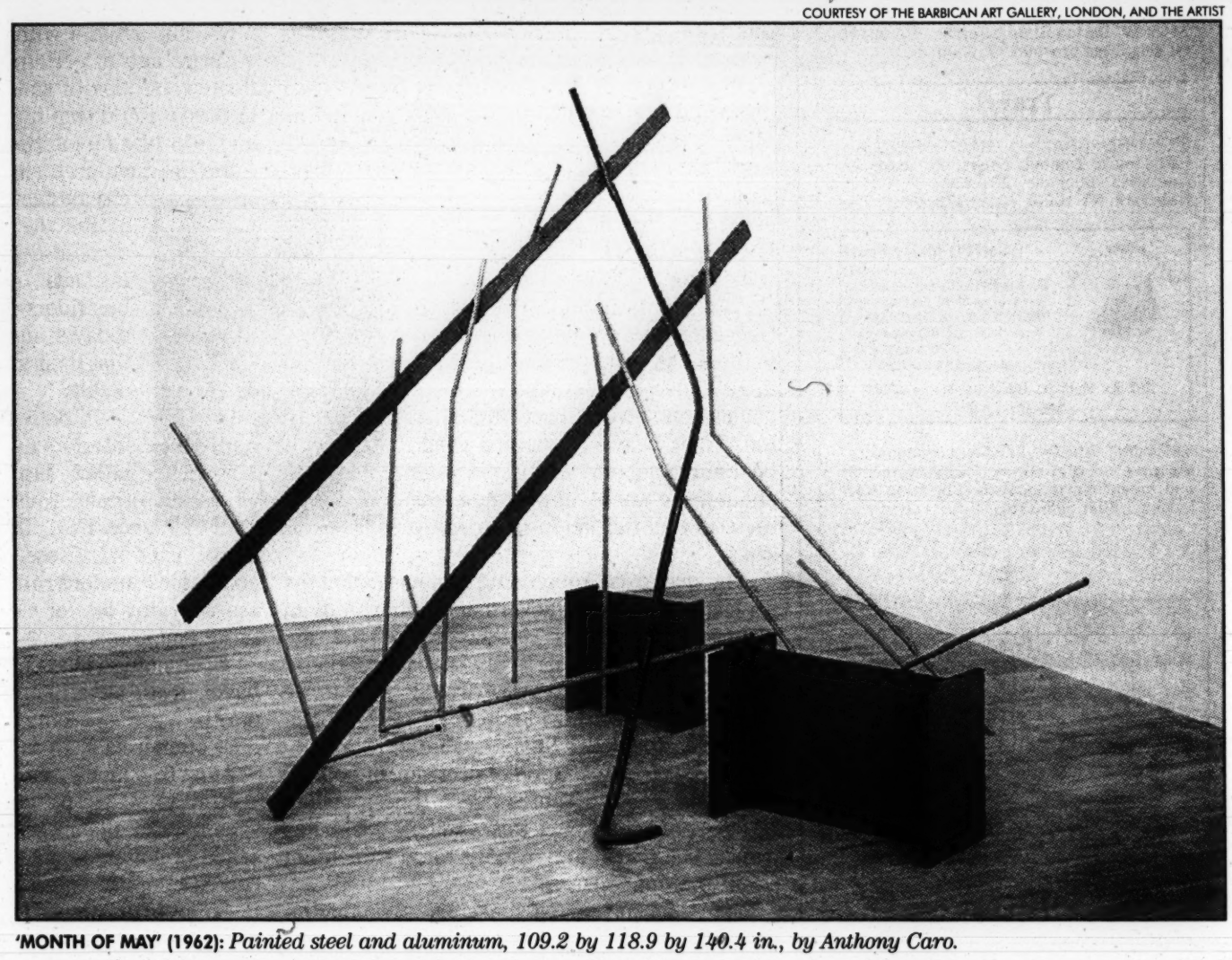
There are some signs now, however, that a more seriously revised analysis of '60s art is possible. An exhibition in London's Barbican Art Gallery and its accompanying book by David Mellor, "The Sixties Art Scene in London," seem able to re-present the abstract painting and sculpture that emerged and developed in the '60s without a smirk and even with some admiration. Things are looking up! Mellor even manages to quote, without mocking, British sculptor Phillip King as one who believed "the period of the early and middle Sixties was a utopian one of 'unlimited human possibilities'...."

We don't need nostalgia – even for the '60s. We may, on the other hand, be right not to need "modernism" hook, line, and sinker – an uncritical espousal of the new simply because it is new. We're doubtless not wrong to have suspicions about technology as the answer to everything.

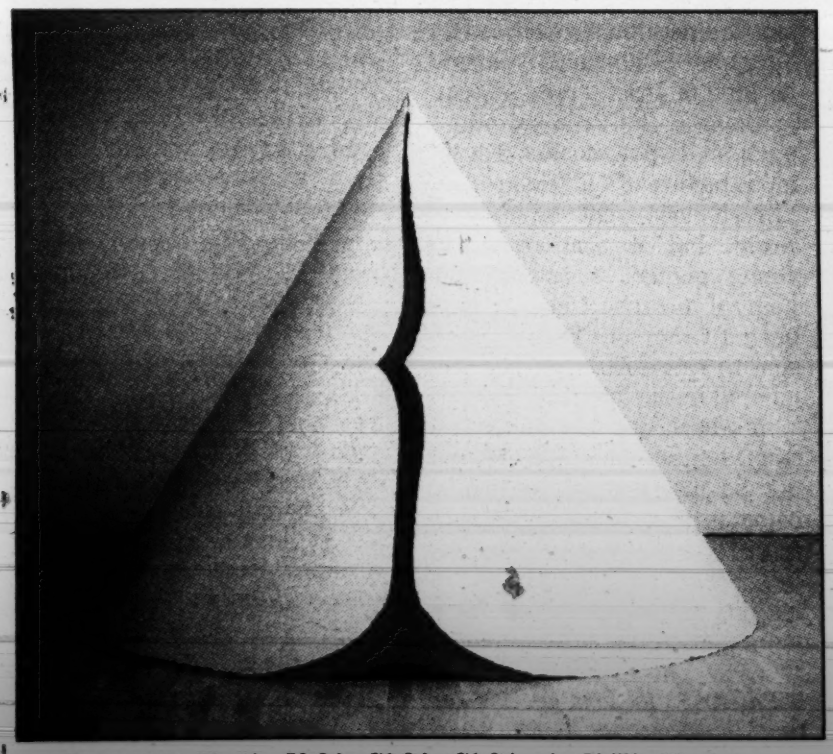
But to regain something of that idea of human potential and possibility, a sense of what another British sculptor, Anthony Caro, calls the "onward of art" might not be a bad idea. The abstract in art is worth pursuing and exploring because it symbolizes investigation of fresh, not-yet-perceived realms of imagination and, indeed, thought. And that might be seen as a legacy from the '60s to pick up and feel again or for the first time.

Christopher Andreae

COURTESY OF THE BARBICAN ART GALLERY, LONDON, AND THE ARTIST



'MONTH OF MAY' (1962): *Painted steel and aluminum, 109.2 by 118.9 by 140.4 in., by Anthony Caro.*



'ROSEBUD' (1962): *Plastic, 59.2 by 71.3 by 71.3 in., by Phillip King.*

A Linguistics Lesson At Sugaring Time

OUR vernal visit to the sugaries of Quebec found things less sweet than usual – the maple-syrup season was not a good one. Warm nights persisted, and all at once the *temps des sucres* had passed almost before it began.

Our friends Pierre-Marie and Carmelle Bolduc of St. Georges, County Beauce, entertained us as usual at their *sucrerie*, but the evaporator was empty and no steam erupted at the peak. We were glad that a few days before we came up from Maine they had been able to make enough for us and the several friends for whom we are regular errand boys, so we brought back syrup enough.

The sugar-house party was strengthened by some shrimp and a couple of State-o'-Maine lake trout that we had fetched. Otherwise, the traditional Beauce sugar party runs to ham (or smoked shoulder), baked potatoes, pancakes, baked beans, and a variety of oddities prepared in, on, with, and about maple syrup. Everything is sweet and sticky. Delightful.

So Pierre and I (Pierre is a scholar and I am trying) had a chance to sit and talk about linguistics. In Beauce County, there prevails a variety of French that not only baffles the French Academy but also bothers a good many Beauce people. I was

JOHN GOULD

much interested to find a heavy State-o'-Maine influence, which ceases to be mysterious once you think about it.

Because of our extensive Maine wild lands along the international border, a great many French-speaking Canadians came down in the early logging days to help harvest timber. If you want to consider it that way, Beauce County, Quebec, is closer to Maine than Maine is.

These "Canucks," which was not originally an offensive word (from the Indian, it meant a stranger), took home good Yankee words that simply replaced the French words. Mostly, this meant words relating to the wilderness and the lumber camp, and matters thereof.

Pierre didn't know just what prompted some of these imports. He assured me I would not hear *crachoir* around about, but would meet with *le spitoune*, and perhaps the evolvement *l'espitoune*.

Pierre, who was never in France, is nonetheless adept with the Gallic shoulder-shrug that means, "*...sais-paw!*"

Perfectly understood in Quebec is the word *traîneau*, which the French Academy recognizes as a vehicle without wheels that is used in Lapland on snow and ice. But in Beauce a *traîneau* can be a *sleigh* spelled that way and pronounced "slay." A sledge, however, had become *une slague*, a scoot or drag by us. Pierre shrugged.

La dame – dam; the beavers have a dam on the brook.
La grobe – grub (food!).
Le cantougue – cant-hook.
Le jaspor – horsepower.
La fril – frill, in dressmaking; decoration.
Le ganoué – gangway – but not aboard ship; a walkway or small bridge to a barn, or to the reservoir in a sugar-house.
Les guéteurses – a kind of boots (Pierre insists) from gaiters!
La léguine – legging, from winter woods clothing.
La lisse – yeast, a curious derivation straight from the Maine woods cookshack. The other French word for yeast is *le levain*, leavening.
Le moffleur – muffler (around the neck).

As the French languge in France has been abused by Americanisms, and Canadian French has been enriched by Indian and Eskimo, so has *le parler populaire de la Beauce* been mangled by the lingo of the Maine woods. Pierre told me there is a perfectly good French word for flywheel, but probably nobody in La Beauce knows what it is. In Beauce, a flywheel is *le flywheel*.

And in the rest of French Canada, the Beauceman (Beauceron) is called a *jarret noir*, because in bygone days the black mud from the fertile fields of the Chaudiere River Valley on the shanks of his horse betrayed him when he went to the city. An insult then, the term is no longer resented. The Beauceron is different, and proud of it. Ask him the name of his wife, and he will grin and say, "Harry."

So the womenfolk visited, and Pierre-Marie and I pursued culture, and our weekend (*le weekend* is good French) was fun. New syrup is fetching $26 (Canadian) a gallon. But scarce.

Suicide Is Not an Option

THE continuing debate in the United States about the right to take one's own life—with or without assistance—and the adoption by the Dutch government of laws that permit assisted suicide illustrate the degree to which suicide has become accepted by society. Yet if we look at the teachings of the Bible, and specifically those of Christ Jesus, we find that death is never a friend.

In fact, the New Testament's message is quite the opposite. Through his life, Jesus showed us the love that God has for us no matter who we are. He taught that we are not meant for suffering, death, and mortality but for eternal life. In one place, John's Gospel reports Jesus as saying, "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life."

For some, everlasting life might seem to translate into everlasting misery! If we think that life is material and that everlasting life means we are doomed to stay within a mortal body for eternity, this would be a very grim prospect indeed.

The Christian Science Monitor's Religious Article

But through his expression of Christ, the true idea of God and man, Jesus was promising something totally different. He proved that man is actually spiritual and inseparable from God, his divine source. Understanding this spiritual concept of man as the idea, or expression, of divine Life, which has no limitations and no end, begins to destroy suffering in our lives. This life is never trapped in incurable matter; it is found in Spirit, God, here and now. And the law of Spirit is the law of life and health here and now.

That spiritual life is not something that happens only after death—but is a law of health in people's lives—is made clear through Jesus' teachings. If death were a friend, why would Jesus have overcome death in his resurrection? And Paul, in his first letter to the Corinthians, refers to death as "the last enemy that shall be destroyed." Not death, then, but God, divine Life, is our eternal friend.

These concepts may seem perfectly reasonable in times when everything is going all right. But what about when things look dark and "eternity" seems to point only to interminable suffering? Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, knew physical suffering as well as mental anguish. Yet in her book *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, she speaks not of these but of her discovery that real existence is spiritual and perfect. Her many years of active life after her discovery show that what God revealed to her was provable—it was in fact a Science.

These laws, explained in Christian Science —and the peace and perfection they bring—are not something we gain after death. They are here for you and me to demonstrate day by day in improved health and living. Speaking of our spirituality, Mrs. Eddy says in *Science and Health:*

"Death can never hasten this state of existence, for death must be overcome, not submitted to, before immortality appears."

While Christ Jesus' victory over death is unsurpassed, we each are able to win some skirmishes in the battle over "the last enemy" through our willingness to resist anything that would tempt us into believing death is a solution for ourselves or for anyone.

I learned this many years ago when I was tempted by suicide. At the time, my career seemed about to be destroyed by a personnel situation that appeared impossible to resolve. I was in a depression so dark that I could think of nothing but the hopelessness of solving or escaping this problem. I prayed diligently, and while there were times of spiritual light, the clouds quickly returned, and with them my thoughts about suicide.

As a Christian, I was well aware that suicide was not in accord with Jesus' teachings. Yet that fact seemed powerless to break the attraction toward death that I was feeling. Then one day on this page of this newspaper, I read a poem called "Psalmist." It spoke of God's goodness and care even in the darkest places, and it spoke so clearly to me that it literally saved my life.

At last I was consistently able to pray with some certainty that I was being heard by God. I remembered the many times God had helped me in the past—had been my best friend in innumerable tight spots. The desire to commit suicide began to lose its grip on me.

The final breakthrough came about one spring day when I was walking to my office. I had been praying with more hope than usual, and as I walked along, I just happened to see some lilacs on the buildings ahead. I can't explain it, but for that moment they were the most beautiful lilacs I had ever seen. The joy they brought to my heart was something beyond the plants themselves. It was Christ, lifting my thought above the problem to behold something of God's abundant outpouring of beauty and love for everyone.

I was so sure of this that I vowed to myself that from that moment on, I would look each day for some evidence of God's love in my life. I always found something to be grateful for, however small. On that ladder of gratitude for God's presence, I climbed out of the pit I had been in, and I have never gone back. The personnel situation was resolved. But instead of destroying me or my career, what I learned spiritually from this experience took me into even more satisfying work than before. I also found once again that the best friend anyone could ever want is omnipotent, omnipresent, and unlimited Love.

We each learn to know God in our own way and in our own time, but there is one thing we can be sure of: God's voice is always the voice of Love and it always leads us toward life and healing, never toward death. I know this because I listened to that voice, and it saved me.

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"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

EDITORIALS

Caribbean Winds Change

CARIBBEAN breezes have lately carried signs of change in relationships between the United States and three close neighbors – Cuba, Haiti, and Puerto Rico. The change in atmosphere is positive for Cuba and Haiti, but upsetting for the administration of the new Puerto Rican government, led by Gov. Pedro Rossello, who advocates statehood for the Commonwealth.

Haiti's situation takes first priority. In the past 18 months it has challenged first President Bush, and now President Clinton. Exiled President Jean-Bertrand Aristide remained in Washington while thousands of his Haitian constituents risked their lives in unsafe boats to join him in the US.

Many were lost, and most others were interned or sent back to Haiti. Their plight followed the usual pattern of such drawn-out events: While their travail continued, public consciousness and concern in the US abated. The Clinton administration, which hasn't had many early successes, deserves praise for its endeavors to find solutions to Haiti's troubles.

The Puerto Rican situation is a different case. The question of statehood really is up to Puerto Ricans themselves.

But trade relations with Washington have soured. At issue is a policy under which US companies with facilities in Puerto Rico and some other US territories have been exempt from paying income tax on earnings there.

President Clinton wants to replace that with a 65 percent tax exemption on wages paid by the companies to their workers.

The advent of the North American Free Trade Association of the US, Mexico, and Canada triggered the change.

The existing tax exemption, known as Section 936, affects an estimated 520 companies that employ 115,000 Puerto Ricans directly and account for another 2,000 jobs indirectly.

The US commonwealth's unemployment rate currently runs at around 15 percent.

Puerto Rican business and community leaders see the proposed change as a disaster in the making. They envision the commonwealth's economy reverting to its previous, parlous condition, much like that of Haiti.

Then there is Cuba and Fidel Castro. There are signs of abatement of long-standing hostilities between the US and Cuba.

Mr. Castro has gone so far as to declare that, if rapprochement with Washington required it, he would be willing to give up his tight rulership of Cuba. Last March he said, in an interview with Diane Sawyer of ABC, that if the US demanded that he step down as the price for lifting its embargo against trade with Cuba, he would be open to negotiating the move.

He would not be without support in such talks. Last November, the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution calling for an end to Washington's embargo against Cuba.

The vote was 59 for ending the trade blockade; three opposed (the US, Israel, and Romania), and 79 abstaining. All European Community members, plus Russia, abstained, as did Mexico, Spain, Brazil, and Venezuela.

Many Cuban exiles in the US still hope for an anti-Castro revolt. But other exiles want Washington to seek discussions.

At this point that means talking to Castro.

Neither side appears ready just yet to make the first effort to communicate on the possibilities. But the hint of compromise is in the Caribbean breeze.

Inauspicious Start?

CHALK it up to excitement. Or attribute it to the slightly showbiz nature of multimillion-dollar television anchor jobs. Whatever the reason, a few odd moments occurred this week when CBS staged a press conference to announce Connie Chung's appointment as Dan Rather's co-anchor on the evening news.

There was Mr. Rather, planting a firm congratulatory kiss on Ms. Chung's cheek. After praising her skills as a network correspondent and as a "big-time anchor talent," he said, "Connie is Miss Congeniality. She could win a Miss Congeniality contest in any language on any continent."

Why does this seem more like Bert Parks congratulating a newly-crowned Miss America than a respected television anchor welcoming a new colleague? If the roles were reversed, would a woman describe a man as "Mr. Congeniality"?

For her part, Chung, the wife of TV talk-show host Maury Povich, explained that she and Rather have worked together since the 1970s. "It's like having a husband at home and a husband at work," she said.

As for that kiss, Miss Manners would not have approved. Earlier this month she called the social kiss "a silly, affected, complicated substitute for an excellent gesture – the simple, warm, and frank handshake."

Sandra Day O'Connor was not publicly welcomed to the Supreme Court by a kiss, nor will women be admitted to combat with a huggy-hug.

The West should welcome Saudi watchdog group, and not applaud the arrests of its members

New Crackdown On Rights In Riyadh Must Stop

By Mamoun Fandy

THE Saudi government's detention of Mohammed Masa'ari, the spokesman for the Committee for the Defense of Legitimate Rights, the first human rights organization inside Saudi Arabia, and the firing of everyone affiliated with this organization from their government positions, is creating widespread anger in the country. It has been reported that the wives of these activists are organizing a sit-in in front of the United States embassy in Riyadh to protest the US government's protection of a regime that by all standards seriously violates human rights.

The issue of human rights is likely to be the link between Islamists and non-Islamists in their fight against oppressive Middle Eastern regimes.

Unfortunately, the human rights group has so far been portrayed by many in the American press as a group of "fundamentalists" and the "moderate" Saudi government praised for its actions. However, despite the religious coloring of the committee's language, the group has been welcomed by many who are concerned with questions of freedom throughout the Middle East. The Washington-based International Committee for Human Rights in the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula (ICHR-GAP) has hailed the emergence of a human rights group inside Saudi Arabia as a significant development that represents a "new link in a chain of events and initiatives reflecting Saudi people's desire to achieve their basic civil rights." The different statements that came from different organizations in the Arab world suggest that the question of human rights is likely to be the link between Islamists and non-Islamists in their fight against the many oppressive and authoritarian Middle Eastern regimes.

The members of the committee in Saudi Arabia, most of whom are Islamists, deem it an important part of their religious duty to seek the elimination of oppression and injustice. In its first statement to the Saudi public, the group called on all concerned citizens to report any kind of injustice or discrimination, citing verses from the Koran and the prophet's tradition that support the goals of the organization. The group has also provided telephone and fax numbers to which all complaints may be addressed and asked "believers" to cooperate with the committee in alleviating injustice.

In an interview with the British newspaper The Guardian, the committee's spokesman said, "We are looking for changes in the judicial system, the labor laws, and we want elections like they have had in Kuwait and now in Yemen. We hope to enter into a dialogue with the government like reasonable men and women." The mention of women suggests a new Islamic concern with women's rights, something many of the same Islamists denounced when 51 women organized a "drive in" during the Gulf crisis. It seems that Saudi society is undergoing transformation and that the regime's opponents no longer divide conservatives and liberals into separate camps. Instead, a wider movement based on new alliances between the conservatives, liberals, Shiites, and women groups is emerging. It is that alliance, perhaps, that threatens Saudi royals and promoted them to act, accusing the members of this organization of being nucleus for a political party. This is a serious charge: Political parties in Saudi Arabia are illegal. The spokesman of this group maintained that they are a human rights organization only. "In any other country a human rights group would be normal. Our only goal is to hold the government accountable."

The Saudi crackdown came after an edict from the religious authority that condemned this group and stated that there is no need for such organization in a country that governs according to the tenants of Islamic Sharia. However, this time such an accusation is not likely to be accepted by even the most conservative segment in Saudi society for two reasons.

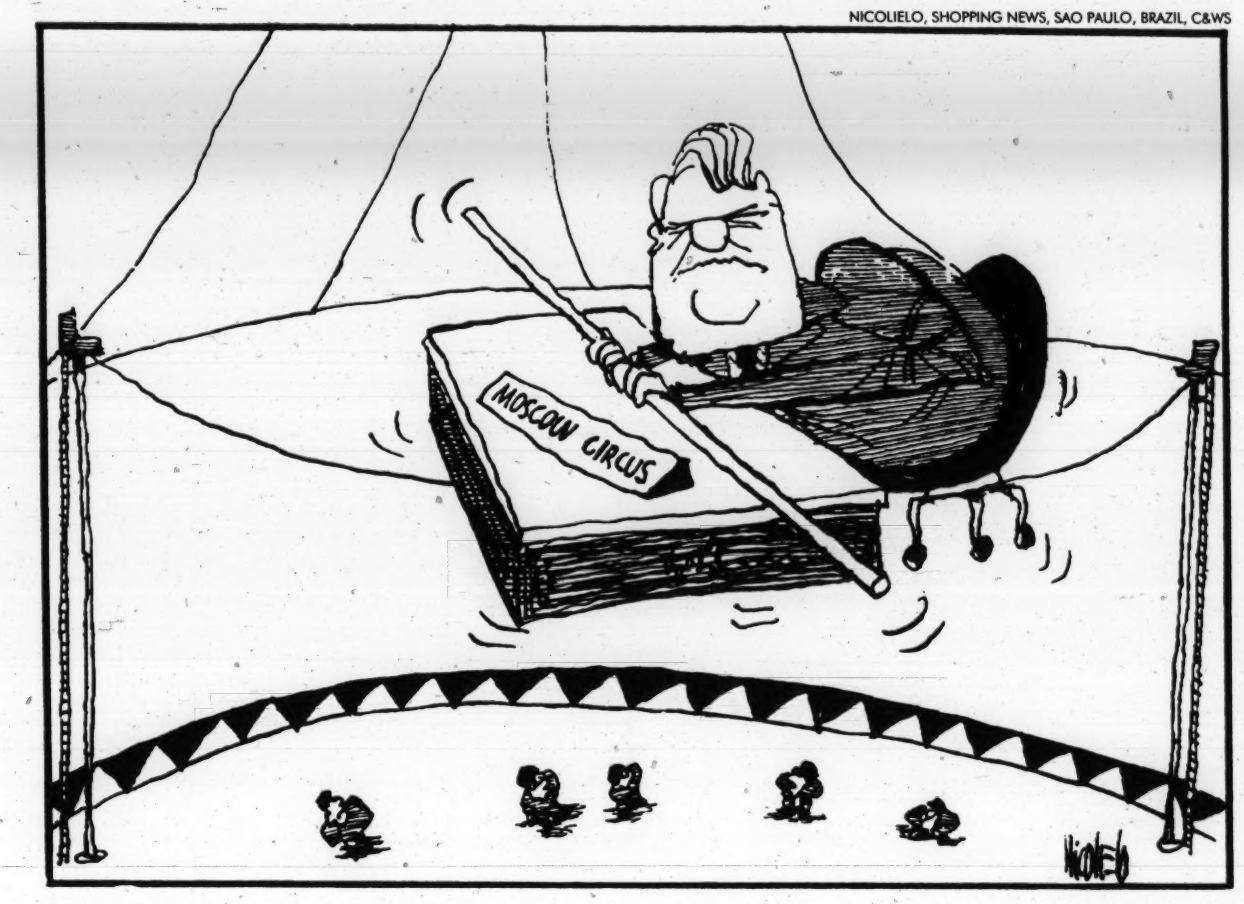
First, the injustice that this group attempts to report is widely felt by different segments in Saudi society. Second, those who formed the organization are not liberals vulnerable to the accusation of being "westernized secularists," a charge the religious establishment usually uses to discredit protesters; one of the strengths of this group is that those who formed it are people who give legitimacy to the regime, the religious conservatives. One of them, Sheikh Abdulla Al-Jubrien, used to be the second man in the government's religious establishment but left it recently after what he calls "an increase of the oppressive practices" of the regime. Another founding member is Abdulla Misa'ari, the former head of Diwan Al-Mazalem, the Saudi equivalent of Ombudsman. The rest of the members are academics, tribal leaders, and activists who are part of the Islamic movement in Saudi Arabia.

Those protesting the regime's violations of rights are people from powerful tribes who could pose a serious threat to the Saud family. At present, these groups are simply requesting that the current regime respect such basic human rights as protection from arbitrary arrest and torture – requests that the US government should encourage the Saudi regime to accommodate. Otherwise, the committee may be radicalized into using armed force against the regime, as in Algeria and Egypt.

■ *Mamoun Fandy teaches political science at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale, Ill.*

OPINION/ESSAYS

NICOLIELO, SHOPPING NEWS, SAO PAULO, BRAZIL, C&WS



GABLE, GLOBE AND MAIL, TORONTO, CANADA, C&WS

RAESIDE, TIMES - COLONIST, VICTORIA, B.C., CANADA, C&WS

CONCLUSIONS DRAWN

Voters Perceive News Media Election Coverage as Biased

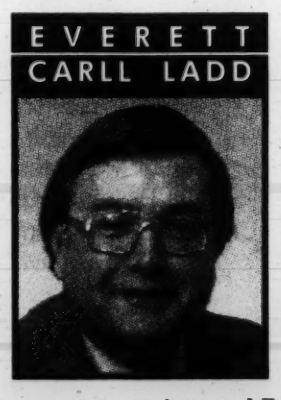
IN 1959 journalist and commentator Douglass Cater described the imposing position that the press had assumed in American politics with an instructive title: "The Fourth Branch of Government." News gathering and reporting had become so primary an element in the decisionmaking of a modern democracy, Mr. Cater argued, that the news media found themselves playing an almost formal governmental role. The "Fourth Branch" has, of course, become the focus of sustained political argument.

The public is troubled by how the media handle aspects of their indispensable political responsibility. Most Americans don't need lectures on the importance of freedom of communication. But the fact that the press is unfettered doesn't guarantee that it will adequately perform its constitutional role.

A review of recent surveys in The Public Perspective magazine makes it clear that dissatisfaction with the media's performance isn't confined to conservative activists, who have long charged journalists with letting their own liberal preferences shape their reporting.

Large majorities of the public say that the country's news media fail to give them the neutral, factual, unbiased reporting they need. A poll taken in January of last year for the Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press asked: "In presenting the news dealing with political and social issues, do you think that news organizations deal fairly with all sides or do they tend to favor one side?"

Sixty-three percent said the latter. Similarly, in a March 1993 survey by the Los Angeles Times, two-thirds of those interviewed said it is true that "the news media give more coverage to stories that support their own points of view."



What's more, the college-educated, the segment of the public that follows press coverage most closely, are the most critical. Eighty percent of college graduates in the LA Times poll saw the media giving more play to stories that reflected journalists' preferences; 65 percent of high school graduates had this view.

Fifty-five percent of the college-trained agreed that "most network television news doesn't do a very good job of letting people know what is fact and what is opinion." Forty percent of the high-school trained had the same view.

There is also a widespread sense that much of the press is too inclined to naysaying. The LA Times poll asked whether "you think the news media put too much emphasis on positive news, or too much emphasis on negative news, or do they strike about the right balance...." Only 3 percent saw journalists predisposed to sugar coating. Sixty-four percent thought they unduly stressed the negative, while 33 percent felt they struck a proper balance.

Near the outset of the March survey, before any other items raised specific issues of press performance, interviewers asked, "What is your biggest complaint about the news media?"

Without prompting, 28 percent said coverage is too sensational, 22 percent that it is biased, 15 percent that it distorts the truth, 11 percent that it is rude and intrusive, 10 percent that it is too negative, and 7 percent that it reflects journalists' own agendas. The source of the public's dissatisfaction is clear. Criticism of the press centers almost entirely on what is perceived as its failure to "just give us the facts."

An increasing body of research shows that the public's complaints have a substantial foundation. Professional norms have been shifting strikingly away from the "neutral" toward the "participant" model, in which journalists are supposed to play a more active and creative part in developing what is newsworthy.

Georgetown University political scientist Michael Robinson finds that "events are frequently conveyed by television news through an inferential structure that often injects a negativistic, contentious, or anti-institutional bias."

Research shows journalists becoming more homogeneous, not more diverse -- disproportionately supportive of Democratic candidates for president and other key offices, and liberal in social values.

It is not surprising, then, that analysis done with the extensive database of Mead Data Central's NEXIS system found last fall's coverage far more positive toward Bill Clinton than toward George Bush.

The United States has plenty of room for publications that seek to advance particular values and points of view. But it also needs media that aspire to the difficult role of being neutral, objective purveyors of information, letting people make up their own minds.

■ *Everett Carll Ladd is professor of political science at the University of Connecticut and president of the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research.*

UKRAINE'S PRIME MINISTER RESIGNS

Ukraine's prime minister, Leonid Kuchma, resigned yesterday after Ukraine's president asked lawmakers for much greater control of the government. Parliament members were expected to vote later on President Leonid Kravchuk's request to be sole head of government and have powers to reform the economy by executive fiat. "All executive power should be concentrated in the hands of one person," Kuchma told parliament, according to the Interfax news agency. Kravchuk said he wanted the authority to issue decrees on economic issues that the prime minister has had up to this point. In an address to lawmakers, Kravchuk said the president should have "direct leadership of the Cabinet."

Packwood off one hook

The US Senate Rules Committee declined Thursday to open an investigation into whether Sen. Bob Packwood should be denied his Oregon Senate seat because he covered up sexual harassment charges against him until after an election. The panel voted 11 to 0 to take no further action on a petition by a group of Oregon voters calling for the investigation. A separate investigation of the sexual harassment charges is being conducted by the Senate Ethics Committee.

Kozyrev in Washington

The US pursuit of a formula to stop the fighting in Bosnia resumed yesterday with Russian Foreign Minister Andrei V. Kozyrev discussing his recent trip to Yugoslavia with Secretary of State Warren Christopher. Kozyrev said he and Christopher had reached agreement on "basic political principles" for a joint plan of action. Kozyrev earlier stopped in Rome to talk to other Western foreign ministers on prospects for finding a plan that might induce the Bosnian Serbs to stop their assault on Muslims, although fierce fighting between Muslims and Croats has complicated the peace-seeking effort. That fighting quieted yesterday for the first time in 10 days, reports from Bosnia said.

China's huge economy

The International Monetary Fund has concluded that China's economy is four times as large as previously estimated, making it third in the world, behind the United States and Japan. The IMF, calculating national output by measuring the goods and services a country's currency will buy, found that China produced some $1.7 trillion in goods and services, as compared to previous estimates of $400 billion. Previous studies measured output by valuing a country's goods and services in dollars. The new study, to be released next week, also greatly increased estimates of the economies of India, Indonesia, Mexico, and Brazil, the New York Times reported.

Closing British mines

British Coal sought court permission yesterday to close the first 10 of 31 mines it wants to shut down to curb losses. The closure plans, announced last October by state-run British Coal, were widely criticized by the public and politicians, including members of the ruling Conservative Party. The High Court ruled in December that the first 10 mines could not be closed because British Coal had not properly consulted with its workers ahead of time.

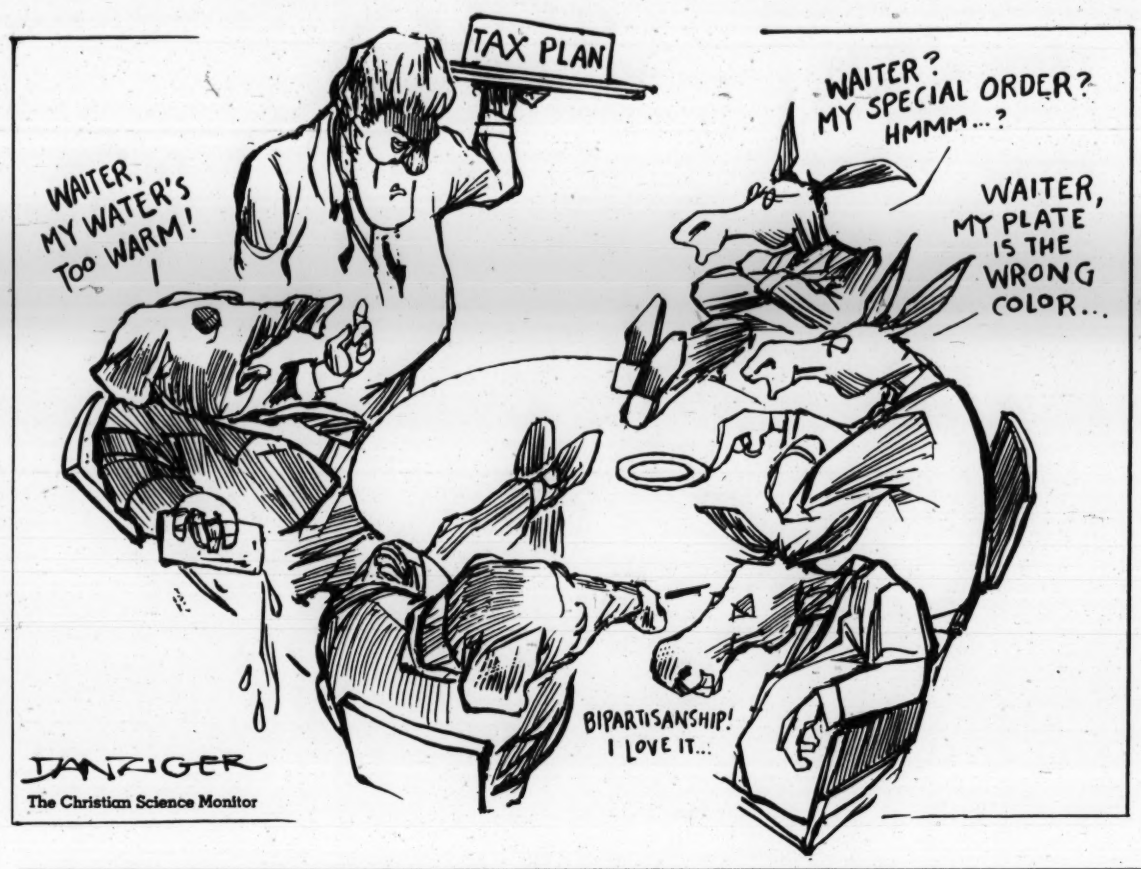
Infant nutrition

The US Agriculture Department credits a federal nutrition program for poor pregnant women with lower infant mortality rates. The five-state study, released Wednesday, tracked Medicaid recipients who participated in the Special Supplemental Program for Women, Infants, and Children, or WIC. The $2.9 billion program aids 5.7 million people, including 40 percent of all babies born in the United States. The Clinton administration wants to increase funding for the program.

Plot to Kill Bush

A group of Iraqis jailed in Kuwait have told US investigators they were, in fact, sent by Iraq to kill President Bush during his visit to Kuwait last month, a US official says. The White House said earlier this month that it would consider action against Iraq if it finds proof of its complicity in an assassination attempt. Members of Congress have said the same thing. Iraq has denied any role in the alleged plot and claims that Kuwait and the US are fabricating the whole story.

– Compiled by David Mutch


TAX PLAN
WAITER, MY WATER'S TOO WARM!
WAITER? MY SPECIAL ORDER? HMMM...?
WAITER, MY PLATE IS THE WRONG COLOR...
BIPARTISANSHIP! I LOVE IT...
DANZIGER
The Christian Science Monitor

Readers Search for Answers on Bosnia

LETTERS

Regarding the editorial "Press Ahead on Bosnia," May 4: It is well to remember that bombing the Serb artillery weapons will bring consequences.

First, if we hit the artillery weapons, we will kill the Serb gunners. Second, if the bombs miss the weapons (and even "smart bombs" can miss), we will kill nearby Serbs and nearby Muslim men, women, and children, since the forces are often within 1,000 yards of each other.

Do we want to kill the killers, both Serb and Muslim, to keep them from killing each other?

Col. William Little (USA, ret.) ***Washington***

Regarding the article "The Bosnia Dilemma – What to Do?," May 13: Scholars and researchers spend too much time intellectualizing and too little time on effective action. While the author suggests that we "weep, ponder, seek understanding, hold a Geneva conference," hundreds of Bosnian Muslims are being killed and dispossessed every day.

One day in the future, perhaps we can tell the surviving Bosnian Muslims that we wept and pondered while they were killed and dispossessed.

Jeff Siddiqui ***Lynnwood, Wash.***

When comparing the editorial "Three Basics on Bosnia," May 13, and the Opinion page article, "The Bosnia Dilemma – What to Do," May 13, I come down on the side of the latter. Its author outlines the terrible complexity of the Bosnian problem and then suggests that it be put in a world context. Her ideas of high-profile deliberations and diplomacy at the highest levels will lead toward a meaningful solution, or at least a cessation of killing and other atrocities. We need the "continuing channel" that she recommends.

Ruth A. Densmore ***Chardon, Ohio***

Innocence in the White House

Regarding the front-page article "Clinton Retools the White House in Bid to Focus Political Message," May 10: Consultant Ted Van Dyck's statement, "You cannot overestimate the degree of innocence and inexperience in the White House, including the president himself," is very encouraging. If the voters had wanted the wordly attitude of the past, they would have voted for it. Hurray for inexperience in ways that have not seemed to work. He cannot lead us further astray that our past political leaders did.

Elizabeth Helmer ***Ithica, NY***

In reference to the article "Clinton Finds Capital's Waltz Hard to Master," May 14, it is sadly evident that the old waltz must go on to serve the bipartisan political interests of greed and power. I find President Clinton's dance steps refreshing, and I am not so sure that he is "not quite ready for the big time." Hopefully, he has seen through the years of waltzing and is trying to provide some new steps for a country that sorely needs them.

Geneviève Bogert ***Elsah, Ill.***

Secretaries are not mail boxes

The article "Voice Mail Grows in Sophistication, but Many Companies Use It Poorly," May 10, angers the secretaries in my company, including me.

The author comments that in today's cost-cutting climate, secretaries are often the first to go, and that voice mail "enables people to leave more detailed messages than a secretary could be expected to jot down." That may reflect values in his neck of the woods, but not in ours.

The four department secretaries in our company are an integral part of operations, not just message-takers to be replaced by voice mail. Although we use computers extensively, we can easily "jot down" complicated and confidential messages for the executives for whom we work, since shorthand is a hire-in requirement for our jobs.

All of these executives were shocked by this slur against secretaries and assured us that we are in no danger of being terminated. Since they know of our important contribution to the company, we believe them.

P. Bowler ***Santa Clara, Calif.***

Letters are welcome. Only a selection can be published, subject to condensation, and none acknowledged. Please fax letters to (617) 450-2317 or address them to "Readers Write," One Norway St., Boston, MA 02115.